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THE

KITAB-I-YAMINI,

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

THE AMÍR SABÁKTAGÍN, AND THE SULTÁN MAHMÚD OF GHAZNA,

EARLY CONQUERORS OF HINDUSTAN, AND FOUNDERS OF THE GHAZNAVIDE DYNASTY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN VERSION OF THE CONTEMPORARY ARABIC CHRONICLE OF

AL UTBI,

BY THE

REV. JAMES REYNOLDS, B.A.,

OF ST. CATHARINE'S HALL, CAMBRIDGE, INCUMBENT OF ST MARY'S HOSPITAL, ILFORD, ESSEX, SECRETARY TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND, &C.

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THE

KITAB-I-YAMINI.

كتاب اليميني العتبي

Perque Asiæ populos, fatis urgentibus actus,
Humana cum strage ruit, gladiumque per omnes
Exegit gentes, ignotos miscuit amnes,
Persarum Euphratem, Indorum sanguine Gangem.

LUCAN, PHARSALIA, L. x. 30.

تحفة الافاق في محاسن العراق

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TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION.

THE following Memoirs are translated from the Persian version of the Arabic work composed by *Abúl-Nasr-Muhammad'-bn-Muhammad-Al-Jabbar-Al-Utbí*. He was descended from the family of Utba, which had occupied important dignities and offices under the Princes of the house of *Sámán* (Kings of Khurasán, and nominally feudatories of the Khálifs of Bagdad). Of this family two are mentioned in the present Memoir, one, Abúl-Hasan-Utbí, was Grand Vizier of the Samanide Amir Mansúr-'bn-Núh, and the other, Abu-Jaafar-al-Utbí, was the nobleman to whom the Chamberlain Abúl-Abhás-Tásh was originally a slave; our author himself, as he was evidently attached to the person of Sabaktagin and his son, doubtless filled some eminent post at Court, he possessed, therefore, the best facilities and opportunities for the compilation of these historical Memoirs, which

comprise the whole of the reign of Sabaktagin, and are carried on to the 14th year, *at least,** of the reign of the Sultan Mahmúd. It is probable, therefore, that Utbí did not long survive the date at which his Memoirs terminate. It is to be regretted that this history, being thus cotemporary and personal, does not extend to *the whole* of that remarkable reign; it, however, comprises that portion of it which was most stirring and eventful. It must be observed, however, that if the dates given by Dow, in his History of India, and probably taken from Ferishta, be correct, Utbí must have survived to a very late period of Mahmúd's reign, as some of the transactions recorded by him appear to coincide with those mentioned by the above author. There are difficulties, however, attending the hypothesis of Dow's correctness, and possibly the authority of a contemporary writer may be more appropriately preferred, at least by his translator.

The translation of this work into Persian was undertaken by Abúl Sharaf of Jabardicán, under the circumstances which he mentions in his preface, that is, in order to amuse the faithful *Ulúgh-Barik*, a feudatory prince of the Atábegs, and at the same time to instruct and warn him by the

* Perhaps to the twentieth year.

example of Sabaktagin and Mahmúd, upon the subject of the advantages of righteous government, and of the ruin inevitably consequent upon oppression on the one side and disloyalty on the other. The Translator derived the name *Jarbadécáni* from his birth-place, the town of Jabardicán, between Hamadan and Isfahan, in Persia. His work was executed in the year A.H. 582, corresponding with A.D. 1186, the very period when the dynasty of Mahmúd Sabaktagin was expelled from the throne of Ghazna, and succeeded by the family of Gúr. The Persian MS. from which the present English version is rendered is a copy of one deposited in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris. It was beautifully, and the Translator is convinced, accurately taken by Monsieur Kasimirski, lately Imperial Interpreter to the Persian Envoy at the Court of the Emperor of the French.

It may reasonably be demanded, why the Translator did not elect to render this history from the Arabic original text rather than from the Persian version? In replying to this question, the Translator will not only allege the greater difficulty of the Arabic language as the ground of his selection; for the Persian easy indefiniteness possesses its own occasional perplexities, especially in the finer turns and phrases, and he would not

have grudged the labour that would have been involved in translating from the Arabic M.S., since he would have thereby augmented his acquaintance with that most interesting language. Arabic is the only classical dialect which still survives and is spoken; it appears to have nearly absorbed and replaced all its kindred tongues. Hebrew exists but in the sacred volume, Syriac almost entirely in ecclesiastical documents alone; but Arabic still exists in all its fullness, and supplies us with an immense *copia verborum* whereby to illustrate and explain any obscurities that must necessarily arise in languages of a restricted and limited character. The highest truths are presented to us in words which have been chosen by the sacred writers out of the whole mass of secular utterances as best adapted to represent the ideas which they designed to express. That mass or body still survives in the Arabic, and it is evident that the nicer and finer hues, shades, and synonyms of the sacred tongues must be mainly sought in that mass. It is vain, also, to expect the attainment of a scientific, satisfactory and sound acquaintance with the Persian, Turkish, or perhaps of the Hindustáni languages, without some knowledge of Arabic. Yet, notwithstanding these great and obvious advantages, the study of Arabic

generally tasks the patience of all except sincere lovers of labour; and the study of some Arabic compositions would deter many who are unwilling to devote a large portion of life and exertion to that pursuit. The difficulty of the grammatical rules, so precise and numerous, the copiousness of the epithets, the minute shades of signification which distinguish different words, the forms and conjugations of the same word, and, above all, the extensive degree in which logical and rhetorical constructions are admitted into the laws of syntax, afford an agreeable exercise for ingenuity and reflexion in tracing out these intricate windings, and arresting the thoughts of any author, unless his subject and his style be obvious and simple. But in translating from such a language into another so dissimilar as our own, there is some danger, with most, of falling into obscurity and harshness. Not that the language is itself at all obscure; on the contrary, if the numerous laws of grammar be rightly used, all is clear; the treasures are soon found by those who possess the keys of the various recesses in which they are deposited. The opinion attributed to Bishop Warburton, "that the translators of the Old Testament would not have been able to ascertain a definite sense from the Hebrew, if they had

not ascertained it from the Septuagint version," would not, at the present time, be well founded; for the labours of the last century have now, chiefly by reason of the Arabic, rescued the Hebrew from all cloudiness, and perplexity, and placed the laws of its construction upon as firm and evident a foundation as those of Greek.

It was not therefore only on account of the general abstruseness of the language, that the Translator of the present work, having proceeded some distance on his labours, resolved to transfer them to the Persian version. It was because the original work of Utbí is designedly and unusually difficult, and would have occupied far more time than the Persian. It is a misfortune, that several of the most esteemed Arabic authors have sought fame and reputation in exaggerating the peculiarities of their language, and have exercised their ingenuity by the employment of far-fetched terms and words with uncommon, involved methods of grammatical construction, so as to render it necessary, even for their own co-linguists to use some research before they could fully ascertain the due meaning of the composition. The *Kitáb-al-Yamíní-al-Utbí*,* was said to be one of these

* *Was said to be*, for the Translator is *now* inclined to believe that the alleged abstruseness of Utbí referred rather to

productions of exceptional difficulty, and various commentators have found it advisable to explain it, in order to facilitate its perusal by native students. The Translator, therefore, under these circumstances, after some hesitation and with some regret, unwilling to incur additional delay, decided to render the whole work from the Persic version. The Translator, moreover, deemed it requisite to abridge time and labour also with respect to the Arabic verses of various authors quoted and interspersed throughout the work.* There is here another difficulty to contend with, the difficulty that is of always obtaining a correct reading, on account of the paucity of MSS. and the impossibility of collation. To those who are aware how long and carefully Arabic verses must be examined and pondered before the sense and scope of the poet appears plainly—can be disentangled, seized, and embodied in English words—this difficulty will be allowed to be formidable. The Persian Translator also, by no means adheres to the original in transferring the verses before him, but frequently and avowedly substitutes others for

the poetry interwoven throughout the work, than to the prose composition. A few years' additional study and experience have removed many difficulties.

* *Some* of the merely encomiastic and rhetorical prose is also occasionally abridged or omitted.

those cited by Al-Utbí. The Translator has therefore contented himself with giving all the Persian verses, all the *short* Arabic verses, and a specimen of each of the longer poems. It is impossible to transpose Arabic poetry perfectly into English, and he imagined that the above proportion would suffice to afford the English reader some idea of the nature of these curious productions. The Translator having rendered several chapters of the work from the Arabic original text, is enabled to believe that the Persian version is generally faithful, and occasionally verbally so. It appears to have been collated with the Arabic by the learned transcriber, M. Kasimirski, of Paris, for whose useful little notices in the margin, and suggestions of emendations in the text, the writer offers his sincere acknowledgments.*

A summary of this historical memoir (from the Persian), by the late eminent orientalist, M. Silvestre de Sacy, appeared in the 4th Volume of the "Notices et Extraits," published in the year 7 of the Republic.

It omitted a portion, as not immediately referring to the Ghaznevide history, and was so much

* Acknowledgments are also due to Dr. Aloys Sprenger, late Government Professor at Delhi, who transcribed the Arabic original.

abridged, as to afford but little assistance in the labour of translation. But from the remarks and notes of this illustrious scholar, the Translator received great benefit, and it is from the latter that he has chiefly borrowed the short geographical explanations which are occasionally subjoined.*

In estimating the value of the present contribution to Eastern history, as it must be allowed that many of the incidents herein comprised are already to be found in Ferishta and other authors, so others appear to be unknown or attended with varying particulars and circumstances: the personal narrative also of a contemporary probably conveys a more correct impression of events, even because it is somewhat diffuse, since character and motives are obtained from details. Dow, one of the earliest English authors who treated of the history of Hindustán, complains of the dry brevity and conciseness of Ferishta; Al-Utbí may occasionally overlay his facts with too much that is extraneous, but as he more frequently prefers a plain recital,† the Translator resolved not to

* De Sacy was confined to the use of Dow's *Ferishta*, now superseded by the edition of General Briggs.

† Perhaps Al-Utbí gives the original simple statement, which has been subsequently exaggerated by Muhammadan writers. If, as is probable, one of the victories recorded in the history be identical with that in which the celebrated

abridge any part of the prose narrative. He is supported in this resolution by the high authority of the Asiatic Society of Paris, who in their Report for 1841, drawn up by M. Mohl, remark, with reference to the question of curtailments and abridgments in oriental translations, "En y réfléchissant sérieusement, on se convaincra peut être que le système des traductions intégrales offre néanmoins des inconvénients moindres que celui des traductions incompletes. On produit par cette dernière méthode un ouvrage plus agréable à lire," (with our present author this would not be the case, the translation reads more smoothly if it flow on uninterruptedly,) "mais ceux qui veulent faire des recherches ne s'en serviront jamais qu'avec défiance, parce qu'ils ne peuvent pas savoir si le traducteur n'à pas omis les faits qui dans leurs recherches particuliers leur importent le plus."

The value, then, of Al-Utbí's memoirs consists partly in that character of special authenticity which their occasional diffuseness and digressions tends rather to develope than to impair; but this historical fragment is also very interesting in

temple and idol of Somnath were captured, Al-Utbí's may be the real statement of facts, although he does not mention the idol Somnath, which, in truth, was not an idol, but a simple cylinder of stone.—See Prof. Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii., p. 194, quoted in Elphinstone's *India*, vol. i., p., 555.

itself; it exhibits the identity of the Oriental mind, especially as developed in the tribes of Affghan or Turkoman, or Bukharian blood. Their shrewdness and acumen, the readiness with which they yield to impulses, and their unaccountable spirit of fickleness, appear to have remained unchanged during eight or nine centuries, so that some of the events recorded by Utbí find their parallel in those of the recent mutiny in India.

But this chronicle is also highly interesting as an historical notice of one of the most remarkable empires ever founded on earth, and which, if it had been permanent, consolidated and extended, would have turned the current of the world's history into a direction different from that in which it has flowed, for this empire was formed in Central Asia—in a land for the most part fruitful and temperate, the native country of the vine—possibly the cradle of the human race. A right line drawn from the mouths of the Indus, through Almora to Tibet, may express the boundary of this empire towards the south; but the territory, from this limit towards the north and north-west, including the provinces on two sides of the Caspian, Affghanistan, Khurasán, Bukhárá, and the greater part of modern Persia, &c., passed by degrees to

Mahmúd's immediate and direct sovereignty, and his power as Emperor Suzerain extended beyond these boundaries. He appears to have included amongst his vassals the princes of the family of Boíah, or Boyah, who, in addition to various provinces of Persia, including Kirman on the Persian Gulph, and others bordering on the Caspian and Oxus, enjoyed the office of hereditary Vizír of the Khálifs of Bagdad, and Amín of Mesopotamia, &c., and who, in fact, disposed of the Khálifat, and nominated and deposed those ecclesiastical rulers at their pleasure; so that Mahmúd in this, his extended sway, may well be said to have mingled the Euphrates with the Ganges. His empire was nearly placed at the point of junction of Europe and Asia; it nearly possessed the advantages of position which adapted Byzantium to become New Rome, and, moreover, included India within the sphere of its influence. Such an empire might have become powerful and enduring—might have reached the shores of the Mediterranean, and have been thus connected with Europe. It really did gain a wide authority and renown, and its *real strength* existed at least as long as that of any other dynasty which has been supreme in Hindustán. Perhaps one cause of its stability may

have been the sagacity of Mahmúd in not establishing* his capital in India, in not withdrawing from Ghazna, and not remaining isolated amidst conquered and hostile nations, at a distance from his resources. The supreme power was thus external, any check was retrievable, and the pride and zeal of Muhammadan fanaticism was soon aroused to suppress any revolts amongst the Hindús, with whom the Ghaznevide subjects were not as yet blended.

It is interesting to observe how rapidly, and yet how readily, this empire grew on, how all events fell out to advance it, how all contingencies coincided to effect its augmentation. Sabaktagin and Mahmúd are led into war, or take up arms, sometimes being in the right, sometimes in the wrong, but they always succeed; they capture Bost and Kasdar, they overcome Dilam, they intrigue in Bukhárá, and so manage that upon the extinction of the Sámánides the possessions of that family accrue to their own, and they had very early become feudal lords over the princes of Boyah.† It is not surprising that Mahmúd should have regarded those who opposed him as not only

* But see Elphinstone's *India*, vol. i., pp. 534, 535.

† See note.—The family of Boyah appear to have invariably assumed the surname "*ad-doulat*," as Majd-ad-doulat (Glory of the Empire), Fakhr-addoulat (Pride of the Empire),

rebellious, but impious; he saw events around him so wonderfully controlled and directed by Providence to concur towards the aggrandizement of his empire and the furtherance of his projects, that he may almost be pardoned for regarding himself not only as the instrument and agent, but also as the favorite of Heaven.

It appears, indeed, that Mahmúd of Ghazna was respected as an eminent theologian as well as an illustrious warrior, and he flourished at a time when there existed ample opportunity for the exercise of his ingenuity as a Muhammadan divine. He was a contemporary of the eccentric Egyptian Khálif Hakim-biamr-Illah, during whose reign the whole Muhammadan world was in a ferment, through the pretensions of the Sayyads, or descendants of Muhammad, and the doctrines of the Batenians, the maintainers of the *Tashbiah,* and the followers of the remarkable tenets of *Ali-Ilahia;* the coalesceing fusion of all which peculiar notions at last formed the grand section of Muhammadanism—the *Shiites,* and the philosophical school of the Sáfis,—and also established a ground for that curious fact, the blending or partial reconciliation

&c. This is analogous to the titles of the Roman emperors, *Fortuna Augusti, Pietas Augusti,* &c., only in the former instance the title was assumed by a nominal *vassal.*

of Islám with Hindúism. The Sayyads or Saids caused some trouble to Mahmúd. It was wisely ordered that all traces of the kindred of the Messiah should soon disappear from Christian history, and indeed the discussions and dissensions which arose respecting His divinity might tend to discountenance much regard to all that was associated with His humanity.

But numberless descendants, real or pretended, of Muhammad, through his daughter Fatima, and his cousin Ali, have been the source of continual trouble and weakness to his religion, not only through the disgrace which an hereditary race of arrogant, ignorant, and prejudiced idlers, would naturally often produce, but also because they would, as might be supposed, be inclined to maintain and encourage those doctrines which tended most to promote their own importance and dignity. They therefore possessed most influence amongst the Shiites, and they supported more or less the doctrines which possessed most affinity with those of that great sect. These doctrines were such as were professed, in various degrees, by the adherents of the Tashbiah, and of the Ali-Ilahia, doctrines which have always been deeply offensive to the Sunnite Muhammadans, and not without good cause, for, if tolerated and carried

out, they might found a Preparatio Evangelica, a platform for Christianity. They were probably originally Christian doctrines, deeply disguised. It is not *likely* that the Christians of the Greek Empire, of Armenia, of Parthia, of Chaldea, and of Egypt, so forcibly converted to Muhammadanism, would lose all Christian persuasion and habit of thought in that cold and barren phase of unsympathizing monotheism.* They still retained much of the geniality of Christian doctrine, as regards the relation of Deity to man. But as they dared not hint at any point directly Christian, they were compelled to disguise their feelings under a dark esoteric veil. Those who adhered

* Sir John Chardin, in his *Travels*, mentions that the Prince (in the Kitáb-Yamini termed the *Shar*) of Georgia, was but nominally a Muhammadan, that he renounced the Christian religion in order to obtain the appointment, that the Catholicos or Patriarch in his (Chardin's) time, was brother of the Prince, and that with his connivance the people would never permit mosques to be erected in Georgia. May not this juxtaposition of Christianity and Muhammadanism have influenced the latter, and added force to any tendencies of Muhammadan sects in the Christian direction? The Shar of Mahmúd's time does not appear to have been a very zealous Muhammadan; moreover, the Georgians were probably Eutychians, who confused the divine and human natures in our Saviour, and whose tenets therefore possessed a marked analogy with those of the Shiites. It is to be noted, however, that Mr. Elphinstone, following Ibn-Haukal (by Ouseley), thinks that this province, conquered by Mahmúd, is *not* identical with Georgia, commonly so called.

to these suspected notions were termed generally *Batenians,* or *interiors.* "These are so called," remarks M. de Sacy, "because they establish an *interior* sense of the Scripture besides the *exterior;* they say, whoever attaches himself to the exterior fatigues himself with vain practices, whilst he who follows the interior may dispense with all actions—they give to faith a preference over Islamism."

A specific branch of these Batenians is the sect of Tashbiah, *Assimilation,* who (besides a kind of Platonism), assert theologically, "that there is a connexion between God and the *other* beings; that the age is never destitute of a prophet or of law, that it is never destitute of an Imám, or his authority, and that the existence of an Imám through all times is necessary, whether manifest or concealed." All this would greatly infringe upon various positions and organic maxims of the Kurán. But the maintainers of the Ali-Ilahia advance far beyond these assertions. These sectaries are numerous in India, but they seem to have abounded also in Syria, Egypt, &c., during the first six or seven centuries of the Hejira; they teach, "that it is necessary to the Almighty God and eternal Lord, that He should descend from the dignity of purity and from the station of unity and absoluteness, and that according to the

abundance of His clemency, He should, in every period and revolution of time unite His spirit with a bodily frame, in order that his creatures may behold this glorious and exalted Lord; and in whatever manner He ordains, acknowledge and reverence Him." "That it is determined that a pure spirit may assume a bodily *likeness*."—(See *Dabistan*, vol. 2, by Shea and Troyer.)

Opinions like these would at once set aside the exclusiveness of Muhammadanism, and with its exclusiveness its main column, and doubtless Mahmúd regarded a deadly onset against them to be as meritorious as the sacred war upon infidels. What would he have said, if he had beheld such doctrines so permeate and so prevail throughout India, that there are now saints whom all parties claim and reverence, that the cries of Rama and Allah Akbar have been blended, and that Muhammadans have enjoined the idolatrous reverence for the cow?

The Translator has been unable to discover any distinct allusion to artillery and fire-arms, which are, however, supposed to have been in some form not entirely unknown in those early times. It appears certain that Greek fire and rockets were employed, as well as slinging and stoning machines, and the allusion in one of the poems to the "fire-

eyed rocket" is plain. The use of such projectiles aproximates to that of artillery. But the beseiged in the citadel of Ark cast on the besiegers pots full of scorpions and serpents, and the gates of a fortress were forced open by means of elephants. However, if these engines of war were at all known, they would scarcely have been acceptable. Inventors must meet with men and times ready to receive and value their discoveries, as well as produce new facts and combinations. It was probably not so much bards who were wanting in the earliest age to sing the praises of heroes, as heroes who would delight in their strains, and if such machines became universal, who could hope to be a Rustâm, or rise to royalty by the sword?

The Translator connot discover any allusion to Ferdusi, or to the envious Vizir who injured him. He cannot find the word Somnath, or the story respecting the idol broken by Mahmúd, although the expedition in which this event is alleged to have occurred, *appears* to be included in this Chronicle of Utbí. It is not however, possible, to decide with regard to omissions, without the assistance of additional manuscripts.*

* In the Arabic queries published by the late Lord Munster, several treatises are mentioned bearing upon warlike machines, and a slinging engine is engraved, taken from the Jáma at Tuwárikh of Rashid-addin. But if these machines cast fiery

There is another point to which it is desired to advert: the order and arrangement of early Eastern Histories or Chronicles is but rough and imperfect. Like those of the middle ages in Europe, they are often composed of *chapters* containing facts, without any intimation of the bearing or relation of these chapters to one another, or to the whole narrative. Thus, in the present work, various chapters contain the history of the several provinces from which the Ghaznevide Empire was ultimately made up, but no intimation is afforded with regard to the point where the thread of these episodical, yet essential accounts joins that of the main narration; how, for example, the affairs of Dilam or of Bukhárá became involved with those of Ghazna. The Translator has occasionally supplied this information, but in general the reader must be left to judge what portion belongs to recapitulation, what to explanatory anticipation, and what to the grand current of the story. There is also a confusion and obscurity in literal translation, which arises from too loose and liberal employment of pronouns, or even their entire omission. The Translator has in these instances been contented to offer a close rendering to the reader, without

matter, it seems to have been only the Greek fire, naphtha, &c. And see Briggs' *Ferishta.*

adding an explanation which is sometimes as embarrassing as the text.

Whilst this work was passing through the press, the attention of the Translator was invited, by the obliging courtesy of Professor G. Fluëgel, of Dresden, to a Paper read in January, 1850, before the Imperial Academy of Sciences, at Vienna, upon the subject of the Kitáb-i-Yamini, by Dr. T. Nöldecke. The learned author of this Paper communicates his discovery in the Imperial Library of two MSS. of the Arabic original, and of two MSS. of the Persian Translation, as well as of a Commentary. If this discovery had been made at an earlier period, the Translator *might possibly* have endeavoured to obtain a copy of the best of the two Arabic MSS. in order to translate from it, yet he doubts whether this communication would have altered his resolution to adopt the Persian: the Arabic MSS. of Dr. Nöldecke's notice are, *both* of them modern, one dated A.D. 1772, the other 1747, whereas the two copies of the MSS. of the *Persian version* are dated, the one A.D. 1316, the other 1321, about 150 years, that is, from the publication. If, therefore, the Translator *had* possessed the advantage of an acquaintance with these MSS., he would probably

still have availed himself of the assistance of the ancient Persian, whereupon to ground an English version, rather than have adopted MSS. which may possibly prove to be of minor authority.

If, however, the Arabic original text and that of the Persian version should ever be published, and the publication by authority appears to be almost a duty, these four MSS., and the critical remarks of Dr. Nöldecke, will be most valuable, and will doubtless be duly consulted.

This learned dissertation comprises two extracts from the Arabic, one from the Persian version, and a specimen of the Comment, &c.

The Translator feels it incumbent upon him to offer his best acknowledgements to the Committee of the Oriental Translation Fund, for their liberality in publishing the present volumes. He has felt much interest in pursuing a subject so congenial to a profession which is bound so especially to trace out and diffuse every ray of "Light from the East,"—light now so sadly obscured and divided in its original glorious abode from its primeval sources. The credit obtained by these studies is not general, but that disadvantage will be fully compensated if they be, in any degree useful, and the Translator will be rewarded if he

win the approbation of those who are so well qualified to judge upon points of Oriental literature, with whom he has had the honour and pleasure of being so long officially connected, and to whom he is bound by so much kindness and attention.

NOTES.

Page xxiv.—Extract from Abul Farajius, *History of Dynasties*, p. 195. Ed. Pococke (from the Latin translation). "In the days of (the Khálif) Al-Kahir, began the dynasty of the sons of (Buwwaya) Bowaia, who were *three*, Ahmad-ad-doulat Ali, Rukn-ad-doulat Al Hasan, and Moez-ad-doulat Ahmad, sons of Abú-Shaja-Bowaia, son of Phanachosrawi, one of the sons of Yazdegird, son of Shahriar, last King of the Persians. This family is very noble amongst the Persians, and they are doubtless regarded as having sprung from the Dilamites, because they had been long established in that country; Abú-Shaja-Bowaia is said to have been a man in slender circumstances, who dreamed that a fire proceeded from his body, which extended and rose up, until it almost reached the sky, then cleaving itself, was divided into three portions, whence many other portions arose; so that the whole world was illuminated by those fires, and many regions and men bowed down themselves to them; Bowaia went to an astrologer and related his dream. He observed, "this is an important dream, which I will not interpret unless you give me a dress and a horse;" "I have," replied Bowaia, "only the dress which I wear;" "Give me, then, ten pieces of gold," said the astrologer;" "I have not even two pieces," he rejoined. However, he gave something, and the astrologer then said, "Know that three sons of thine shall rule the earth, whose renown shall be resplendent in the countries thereof, and from them shall be

born a multitude of kings, according as thou didst behold in the subdivision of the fires;" the three sons of Bowaia subsequently went to Tabaristán, where Mardawij, or Marduanj, received them kindly, and gave *Karaj* to Imád-ad-doulat-Ali-'bn-Bowaia; he so ingratiated himself there, that the inhabitants made him king. Becoming more powerful, he seized Isfahán, he also possessed Ariana. His brother Rukn-ad-doulat, was sent to Cazrún, whence he obtained great booty, and returned safe. The son of Imad-ad-doulat Bowaia obtained possession of Shiraz, A.H. 322."

It is not surprizing that so eminent a family, the hereditary vizirs and controllers of the Khálifs, should have endured impatiently the virtual supremacy of Mahmúd. But the sultan retained it, and would not allow them the honours of the khutbah, or coinage, the ensigns of independent sovereignty.

Page xxix.—The author of the Dahistán, saw a man of this sect, Ali-Ilahia, who asserted that the Kurán, which is amongst them, does not deserve confidence, as it is not the book which Ali-Alah had given to Muhammad, but is the composition of Abú-Bakr, of Omar, and of Othmán. He saw also another, who said, "Certainly the Kurán is the work of Ali-Alah, but having been collected by Othman, it ought not to be read." Some were seen among them who asserted, that the verse and prose attributed to Omar, were collected by Ali, and inserted in the Kurán. They value these beyond the latter, as having proceeded directly from Ali-Alah.

Page xxxi.—The following account of the cause of the destruction by fire, of the monastery of Lauresheim, is quoted in Maitland's *Dark Ages*, p. 235. "Inter cetera ludorum exercitia, *discus* in extrema marginis ora (ut solet), accensus, militari manu per aera vibrabatur, qui acriori impulsu circumactus, orbicularem flamma speciem reddens, spectaculi gratiam exhibet." A *disc*, set on fire in the usual way, was whirled in the air by a soldier, and set fire to the place. Such a disc, whatever be its precise description, might, when mentioned in Persian, appear to resemble the flight of a cannon ball.

PREFACE

OF

PERSIAN TRANSLATOR.

THIS Book is the composition of Abú 'Sharaf Maulánáh Násih 'bn Zafar 'bn Saád Almunshí al-Jarbadkánį.

THE most fitting thing which the speaking tongue should love, and towards which the reins of the will should be turned, is the praise and celebration of the Creator. May His might be glorified and His word be exalted! It was He who distinguished man by the garment of intellect and superiority, who adorned his exterior with splendid form, and perfect figure, and who distinguished and illuminated his interior with the light of knowledge. Man hath thus received the happy gift of being enabled, with clear view and penetrating reflection, to contemplate the wonders of Omnipotence and the mysteries of creation, and to know that this brocaded surface, coloured with brilliant groupings, and this variegated curtain decorated with the lights of the stars, received not visible form without a wise Ordainer and a preventing Framër; that this green expanse, set with jewels of flowers, and this carpet of dust,

streaked with flowing streams, became possible only through an Omniscient Creator and a powerful Disposer: and with respect to man's being, which is a little world, the Creator carefully provided that this stamp of nature which He delineated and brought from nothing unto the basis of being, should, in the darkness of the womb be ordered and arranged into different members and parts, and He enlightened this his darkened form with the flame of life, and sent forth a glance from His useful light to guard the basis of his existence, and to protect the line of his being.

And when the leavening of his clay, and the arrangement of his beauty was completed, and the time for marching forth and the period for advancing unto the plain and field of battle drew near, He sent many divine endowments attached to his being, and many delights corresponding with his construction, into the conduit of the garden of his special (frame), and bound by a strong link every one of the comforts and gratifications of the world to his several members, and framed his various limbs into causes of utility and profit, so that by the force of sight he receives enjoyment from colour and from pleasing and charming objects, and by the sense of hearing might derive intelligence from the voices and cries of animals, and by the intensity of taste might relish different kinds of meats and drinks, and by

the strength of articulate speech, his secrets and his will might be declared, so that his Vizir, the Sight, and his General, Apprehension, received all that was sufficient in the world of intelligence for his consideration and for the regulation of his comforts and conduct, in order that the highway of profit or of harm might be enlightened before his eyes, and that he might write the lesson of good or evil upon the tablet of his thought (Kurán, xxxi. 10), "This is the creation of God, show me what they have created, who are worshipped besides him."

Next, salutation to the Sacred Spirit, to the flowery garden, to the pure earth of Muhammad Mustafá, the Elect, the Seal of Prophets, and Chief of the Mighty Saints, the blessing and peace of God be upon him, the dawn of whose apostleship purified the court of the world from the darkness of error, and by the polish of his guidance gave brilliancy to the sullied mirror of hearts, and freed mankind from the participation of idolatry. A hundred thousand invocations of mercy, and rest, and salutation and peace be upon his glorious caste, and pure progeny and family, the source of the morning light, and the keys of mysteries. Unto his companions and followers, and comrades and associates, be respect, may their stock be perfumed with the gale of the breeze of eternity, and their stability affixed by

the nails of everlasting joists, for with God is protection and grace.

Thus saith the servant of the preserver, and orator of the everlasting, Abú Ashsharaf Nasih 'bn Zafar 'bn Saad Almunshi Aljarbádakání. When the Almighty adorned with the region of Irák, or indeed with the whole extent of the horizon, him the fortunate in counsel and in judgment, the splendour of the zenith of empire, and gave lofty rank, heavenly expansion, and penetration for his commands and prohibitions (to distant regions), and all that pertains to perfect empire, unto the Just Sovereign, the Wise, the Maintainer, the Successful, the Victorious, the Warrior for Religion, the Consolidator of the Glory of the State and Religion, he who gave victory to Islám and to Muslims, Supreme Prince over both Worlds, Pacificator of the Earth, Ulúgh Barík Ulláh, (God exalt his power, and raise his might and magnify his victories), and when God distinguished him with special qualities — with justice, with expansion of the wings of liberality and mercy, with bounteous benefits and advantages unto high and low, with overflowing generous kindnesses and volumes of good actions, in a glorious station, then his happy days became a pledge for the firm establishment of good things, and for strengthening the bonds of neighbourhood, and caused the eager and generous expenditure of wealth and

jewels upon objects of piety and charity, and upon the construction of foundations and bridges, and mosques and minarets, and in an age which was a season of violence and a time of tyranny; the plain of his guardianship and the veil of his government and aid became the asylum of the weak, the resource of the poor, the refuge of the injured, and the retreat of the oppressed; so that when any where the foot of any one failed through the slippery vibration of affairs, he laid his hand upon the handle of the solid judgment of his majestic court, and sought to hold firmly by his assuring neighbourhood and his protecting patronage, and whenever any one was wounded by the arrow of adversity from the bow of the times, he sought to heal the scar of his wound with the plaister of his liberal and compassionate government; and whosoever, through the vicissitudes of change became ailing from the poison of care, obtained a remedy from the antidote of his pity.

Now in the second month of the year 582, when the Nabob-Sultanat of the family of Seljúk came to an end, and the great Atábeg Azim Muhammad, son of the Atabeg Assaíd Shams Addoula wa Addín Ildegiz (Allah sanctify his mighty spirit), who was the pillar of that kingdom, and the regulator of that empire, and the shepherd of that flock and the protector of all, had been caught in the snare of fate, and the govern-

ment had thus passed away from his decorated mind and experience, and strength and power, and dread mastership, and the affairs of Irák were all in disturbance and confusion, and the devils of Turks came forth from the bottle of coercion, and nearly one hundred chiefs of his principal subjects, every one of whom was a demon of demon race, and a Pharaoh of rebels in the flesh, quitted the high road of right, and every one fixed his craving upon the kingdom of Irák, and fortified themselves in every side in castles, and left the road free for criminals and corrupted men, so that the impress of the force of these verses were written upon the page of its condition (Verses)

" There is a flowing wound in my head,
* I fear that I shall suffer from vertigo."
" As to sovereignty, why art thou on the head of him who wears a crown? Mayest thou be on the head of him in whom is sovereignty."

And several of the household of the Prince went forth and sought refuge with the disobedient ones of the State, and used words of tumult, and confusion, and division, and for nearly twenty years the extension of this strife and the source of this wretchedness increased, so that ancient houses departed and nothing remained on the right or left, and people of substance became distressed with poverty and want, the poor were in straits, and the slaves perished, so that labourers came to

destruction, and cultivators and sowers were dispersed, and their dwellings and abodes became the dens of wild beasts and tigers. But this king (long may he live !) in these days of their butting violence, drew his foot into the skirt of honour and remained dwelling quietly in the protected city of Kaswín, which is the splendour of the world, and, with firm foot and unshaken greatness, exhibited his inclination to be well affected towards and to preserve the sovereign Atabegs (Heaven support them!) and paid his due tribute, and attempted to be master in nothing, and was content with certain duties assigned by the díván, and knew that they would all be bound by their errors and wounded by punishment. Until the time approached that the State became freed from their injuries, and some, caught in the snare of their covetousness, were ruined and destroyed; many became a mark for the arrow of the plaint of the oppressed, and a portion remained humiliated and lost captives in the desert of infidels, and the hell of those who are disobedient to the Lord of Favours, until the very great Prince, the magnified King, Shums-addoulah waaddín, Victory of Islám and of Muslims, King of kings, Chief of the East and West, *Itagmash* (may God guard his splendour and double his prosperity!) who was the very unsurpassed strength and mighty column of the state, and pillar and prop of the kingdom,

by alliance with the noble ones of that king who was the cream of Turks and flower of dominion, happily gave help, and by his support the joining of the ropes of his fortune and empire proceeded, and by the right hand of affinity and alliance, and by the support of his advice and judgment, an answer was given to all those who wounded and disputed in the kingdom, and by their associating and interweaving with one another the house of the master-son, the Lord Alim, Sultan Azim, Victory both in worldly and religious matters, refuge of Islam and of Muslims, the Sultan of Sultans, ÀbnBakr, son of Alátábeg Alazim, son of Abn Iaafar Muhammad, son of the Atábeg Abu Sair Ildagiz (Heaven eternize his rule!) became settled by them, and they drove back the covetous necks and gaping beaks of the armies of Syria, and Armenia, and Diarbeker, and Khurásán, and Khawarizm, and other places, who had placed their hosts in the cities and provinces of Irák, and cleansed the laws of the kingdom from the intermixture of malice by the dread of the swords of these two eminent kings, from the utmost to the nearest parts of the world. The wolf was prevented from attacking the deer, and the partridge sought aid in the patronage of the falcon, the eyes of confusion were in sweet sleep, and justice was awake, and the carpet of confidence and trust was spread (Verse)

"In thy time the lion sought not to hurt the hind, against the poor mouse the snake exerted not his strength. In thy age the falcon even if he were sick, from dread of thee, expressed no desire for a partridge."

And at this day, praise be to God, from the fortune of these two will-effecting princes and these two command-issuing kings the foundation of justice and equity hath been laid, and the rule of innovation, and oppression and violence, rejected and put away. May the Almighty establish for unnumbered years, through their empire and royalty this common gain, this shade of their justice and compassion over weak subjects. "God hath mercy on the servant who saith Amen."

Now forasmuch as that scanty territory which is the native country of this poor compiler, was in the possession of the court of this prince, and honoured by his fortunate vicinity, and he commanded (residence) there for many times and exalted years, and was attached to the open country of that plain, for the enjoyment of hunting, when my turn came to stand before his happy stirrup, there passed into my mind (Verse)

"There is no guile with thee to lead thee, nor wilt thou be led by wealth; speech may succeed if circumstances do not."

a passage, which may the Solomon of the kingdom realize, that as a mouse it may perchance be of service, and with this writing like a locust's foot

transcribe a volume, and that in this way might form a composition of the histories and names of kings, and of the chronicles of emperors, and might convey it as a gift to the high presence, in order that, at times of leisure and hours of privacy, he might receive recreation from hearing it, and might derive example from the vicissitudes of circumstances and the changes of the eminent; And upon this subject I requested the advice of the just lord, Múíd Mansúr-Muzfir-Mahdí-addunya-wa-áddín, glory of Islam and of Muslims, Sayyad of Viziers in both worlds, generous, learned, Abúl Kasim 'bn Muhammad 'bn Abi Hanífá (Allah guard his splendour and perpetuate his destiny!) who was the Asaph of the kingdom and pillar of the empire. I requested a reply upon the point. He gave me the most extreme encouragement, and indicated that "the *Kitáb Yamini*, compiled by *'Utbi*, is a useful book, and is comprised in few sections and light bulk, being an explanation of the events and incidents of *Sultán Mahmúd Sabaktagín*, with much of the affairs of the family of Sámán and a little of the days of the family of Boyah, and which contains also some of the histories and traces of the kings of those countries, and lords of those regions." It would be fitting (he said) in order that these (historical) exemplars should approach nigh unto the understanding, and that Turks and citizens should be directed thereby,

that you should translate it into the Persian, and not be higher than the frame of the book's style, and avoid ruggedness and ambitious phrases, and not regard it incumbent upon you to employ uncouth Arabic words and expressions, but whatsoever the intelligent mind and generous nature approves, to be therewith content, so that I may act as father to this bride, and may make the unsaleable goods of this stock pass freely with the Amír. For, at the present day, two particular kinds of advantage will accrue from this book: one, that this Prince (may his fortune last for ever!) when he contemplates the circumstances and the territories of the kings and sultans, his predecessors, the extent of their empire, the distance to which their authority penetrated, the glory of their power, autocracy, and commandments, may also know that their declining fortune, and the transference of cities and peoples, rendered them not permanent, and all their state has decayed, and there remaineth nothing of them, except their good name, their virtues, their generous acts, their examples, and their mercy. His eyesight, by passing over these subjects of thought, may become firmer, and his wishes, by traversing these chapters, may become more true; And, secondly, that people of virtue, excellence, and honour may know that these kings caused to circulate amongst the people of the sword the valu-

ables of earth and the riches of the world, and to their subjects brought valuable property to support the kingdom's slenderness, making them sharers and partners in the possessions of the earth, And none of them deceased before the full space of life, or was not useful even after the consummation of the days of his age, And a writer, with five folds of paper and a long ball (of ink) which cost (but) two drachms of silver, hath painted their memorials in a volume of annals, and, having placed their impress upon the forehead of time, hath rendered their name perennial unto perpetuity everlasting, and hath adorned the interior of his volume and the contents of his book with the commemoration of their days, their words, and their deeds. Nearly three hundred years* have elapsed since they framed histories in praise of Mahmúd Sabaktagin, and spoke as friends of the family of Boyah (Verse)

"Though camels and bread should be no longer, yet the glorious memory of the sons of Marwán will be, and thou shalt see the congratulatory river flow for ever. Of all that the sons of Sámán and the kings of the vigorous have collected, they will sing sweetly after that Hasán hath (no longer) spoken of Ghasán (the excellent of the imbecile)."

As to the Seljúks, from whose eminent kingdoms these two princes were but a distillation, and the rule of these two sovereigns

* Cor. *Two* (?)

but a drop in the sea of their royalty and empire, they are no longer preserved for any sufficient period, and their name will be blotted from the books of minds; and as in their days people of virtue found no success, and derived no aid from their diffused grandeurs, ordinances, or victories, no one preserved their memory, and no memorial remained of the vestiges of their elevation.

I accepted this intimation of the Sahib, the just, Heaven augment its help to him, and exhibited to him this exemplifying parable, and I appended this (proposed) arrangement to the (other) successive aids and marks of favour, and gifts, and presents, which in the course of my life I have found from that court of his brilliancy, and portico of his merits and endowments, and I translated this book from Arabic into Persian.

Men of information and intelligence are aware that in the barbarian (Persian) dialect there is no power of affording much gratification, and Abú an Nasar Al Utbi, in the narration and composition of this book exhibited lawful magic, and displayed wonderful novelties, and if any one from the zenith of eloquence and delicacy of that model, and the copiousness of those expressions, should contemplate the low cellars* of this translation and the

* Literally "washing-places."

wretchedness of these words nothing but a blush of shame would be the result. I am convinced of the fact of my deficiencies, and in my poor mansion (of mind) and confusion of intellect well know both the scantiness of my capital stock and the deficiency of my workmanship. However my apology comes to light upon two grounds; one is that I wished not that the intricacies and niceties of the aims and drifts of the book should remain under the veil of obscurity, and that the arrow of understanding should never attain unto it; and the second that I wished the Arabian plain (of language) to possess a perfect amplitude and complete space, and if any one will peruse the writings of this poor author in Persian verse and rhythms perhaps water* may again come upon the face of his labour, and there may ensue pacification towards the standard of these words, and reconciliation to the motes of these idle tales, and it may thus be known that, although my Persian hackney be restive, my Arab charger is a pleasant goer, and although my striped Persian robe is in tatters yet my Arabian embroidered garment is fair and new; and if, in the time of the family of Sámán and the days of the house of Boyah, which was a time of the Bázár of virtue and excellence, when the divers of good manners and arts found

i.e. Honour.

valuable pearls and choice jewels, in the sea of their humanity and liberality, and in the gardens of their protection, and science possessed fields of sugar-cane, and delightful parterres, and were blessed with their rich society and admirable nobleness, if in the gardens of their generous benefits they struck up (songs) like the sweet-toned nightingale, and like the starling warbled by the border of the rose-garden—no matter, At present, when the breeze favourable to virtue hath passed away, when the fire of pride in heroes is stanched, when excellence is superfluous and men are wearied with the learned, and the tree of their art would be without fruit, unless these last breathings of dying generosity, these relics of liberality from the just Sahib, the Chief of Viziers (Heaven add lengthened reserves to the remnants of his life!) gave them heart again, and commanded a liveliness to commerce in their lofty occupation, and a ready sale in their market. It is forbidden then to draw a black pen over this whiteness, but esteem should be in our minds for this magazine of books. This poor author hath composed nearly two thousand verses, in praise and commendation of this nobleman (Allah encircle him with glory). The greater portion is concealed in the collection known as "The Gardens of Melancholy," but some more seasonably placed in the volume of "The Flame of Souls." The following is a Kasidah, which was compiled in praise

of his blessed feet, at a time when he came, having composed something.* I have a perfect confidence in the generosity and liberality of the Maulawi, the great Sahib Chief of Viziers (may Allah perpetuate it!) that he will draw the line of indulgence over these blunders and errors, and cover with the train of the robe of mercy and pardon these slips and mistakes,

If, however, in the explication of the glories and wisdom of this generous Lord and unparalleled Vizier, one should enter into detail, the widest stream would afford no footing in its abyss of pages, and in seeking to express his perfection neither length nor breadth would be powerful enough to celebrate but a small portion thereof; and in these days, which are one year of scarcity as regards virtue and the virtuous, and when cruel fate is perhaps enslaved to a hatred of good manners and of the means of honour, and the stars of ingenuity are settled in the retirement of depression, and folly finds friends, the perfect merit, the lofty intellect, the liberal breast, the wide ocean and good fortune of mind, the true fortitude, the noble patronage, the wide plain of determined and dignified authority, the well-ordered conduct, sweet disposition, special ingenuousness, and innate beauties of this surpassing heart of super-eminence and this favoured lord of

* This Kasidah, being obscure, is here omitted.

favour, hath arrived as the pardon-pleader of fortune, and the fault-coverer of the times. People of distinction, in emigrating from these flames and in purifying from this distress, have covered themselves with his overshadowing veil and have fled to the strong fortification and powerful munition of his reflecting care; and one of the beneficial qualities of his nature is, that he hath obtained a thorough knowledge of the chronicles, the origin and the state of peoples, the condition and whatever deserves to be known of the kings of Arabia and Persia, and their tribes, and hath become deep and powerful in this science, and aware of the vicissitudes of events, and his mind hath solidly occupied itself in pursuing this knowledge, and hath been engaged in acquiring the experience of history, so that his enlightened understanding and perfumed mind hath become a bright mirror, before which the converse of secrets and the fallacies of thoughts, and the sequences of affairs, and the ends of actions, are clear and shining as the sun-ray (Verse)

"Oh thy intellect, thou hast seen yesterday the difficulties of to-day, and oh thy thought, thou hast given this year the harvest of the past.

"Like Heaven's foreordaining by wisdom for all men.

"Like the sun, freely benefiting all things.

"If they place one principle of increase from thy hand in the puncture (*i. e.*, graft from thy nature)

"No branch would ever blow empty on the poplar."

And another of his praiseworthy practices and agreeable rules is, that not one twinkling of an eye of his life (may its extension be conjoined with the extension of time!) is wasted, and although most of his time is spent in watching over the affairs of State and in promoting the peace of Muslims, when he finds a moment of leisure he seeks recreation in the perusal of books and the conversation of the wise, and the society of the learned, and in discussing the nice points of science, and the quaint intricacies of knowledge, and in acquiring information upon the rules of religious and eternal wisdom, and his soul and time becomes deeply immersed in these things; and if I may put forth an assertion it is that the curved umbrella of the sky overcast its shadow on the forehead of such greatness, and in the four quarters of the world there hath never sat upon the four-cornered seat of the Vizarat a Minister like him. May he be supported in the perfection of his discernment and the testimony of his far-sightedness, and may he be recorded so to be by evident arguments and clear proofs (Verse)

"I declare that there is no man like him; to deny this is to deny that God is one."

Whoso hath entered the winter-house which is the mansion of his greatness, the point of contact of his happiness, and the fountain of his govern-

ment, and should see his benevolent foundations and his conduit-pipes of alms, and should witness his religious houses, his treasuries of books, and other curious and strange things, his library book-cases, his choice volumes and appended pages therein assembled, and should be aware of the hospital for the sick, and the valuable bottles, with various kinds of medicines and remedies, and their divisions for the poor and humble, he would know to what an extent his lofty mind hath attained varied kinds of excellence, by the avenues of goodness and the utilization of knowledge and reflection, and in the power of the Almighty, will be convinced, by proof, that neither the world in its youth, or creatures in their greatness, or Paradise in its nature, or ocean in its seas, could produce his equal (Verse)

"Let there be no denial that God hath collected all things in one universe."

And doubtless it is through his fortunate forelock and blessed counsel that the just Prince, the pacificator of the world, Ulugh Barík, hath passed so long a period in such power, comfort, peace, repose, and affluence, and hath found such an abundant hold of his royalty and empire; and the hope of his servants is this, that he may still continue in the freshness of the youth and vigour of his fortune, in increase of years and influence of

power, that overflowing happiness and great establishment, as regards his life, his possessions, his wishes, and his years, may yet remain for him, and that many long years may pass under His Majesty, his children, and his descendants (who are the apple of the State's eye, and the liver-corner of the empire) under the protecting shadow and guardianship of his fortunate standard, may they arrive at command and hold the world, and for eternity may the elevation of the office of Vizier and the seat of the empire's dignity be adorned and illuminated by this great centre, this bright moon, this phœnix of time, this sun of generosity, this sea of munificence, this world of knowledge, and this earth of intelligence, if thus God will and His definitions (concur).

ANNALS OF THE LIFE

OF THE

AMÍR NASÍR-AD-DÍN SABAKTAGÍN,

AND OF ITS EVENTS.

The Amír Násir-ad-dín was a Turk by origin, adorned by special favours of God, a mirror of royalty and authority, in the day of battle furious as a lion, then, liberal as the showers, he still distributed favours and kindnesses unto all. Like the wind he blew upon the strong and the weak, and like the sun he shone upon the humble and the noble. In mind he was like the sea, which, in its liberality, thinks not of its bounds, and in rage like the torrent-flood, which regards not ascent or descent. During dark events his counsel was like a path-directing star; his sword, in

cutting through his enemies, was like the globe-disclosing fate. The marks of nobility and generosity were bright and brilliant in his disposition, and the evidences of good fortune and happiness were plain, whether they were at rest or in motion. Abúl Hasin Khazin says, the Amir Nasiraddín, during the time of the reign of Mansúr 'bn Núh Sámáni, came into the wardrobe (household) service of Abú Ishak 'bn Ileptagin, who was Commander of the Troops of Khurásán. He received the post of Chamberlain, and the binding and loosing (*i. e., the whole direction*) of the officers and servants, the attendants and the troops, was conferred upon him. The nobles and chiefs of that prince became acquainted with his high efficiency and ingenuity, and learnt and knew his enlightened guidance in transacting this affair; and when they sent Abú Ishak Alptagín, who was Commander of the Army, to Ghazna, and relinquished the rule of that territory unto him, they consigned the reins of the guidance and direction of the business thereof, and the disposal and settlement of the transactions thereof, to the weighty intellect and powerful understanding of Nasiraddín.

And when they sent Abú Ishak Aluptagin to Ghazna in a short space of time he was consigned (to the tomb) and answered the claim of (nature's)

debt, and there was no one of his family who possessed a fitness for empire, and superiors and chiefs, free and bondmen, needed some one who should be apt and capable for their sovereignty, And whomsoever they preferred, when brought to the touchstone of estimation, possessed not the perfect standard, until all became of one associated mind and one conjoined voice in agreeing that in no one was there such worthiness, qualifications for rule, better or nobler specialities than in Násir-addín Sabaktagín. They gave their assent, therefore, to him, as ruler and governor. They covenanted to accept his sway and rule, and they inaugurated him, and Násir-ad-dín Sabaktagín took all under his protecting pastorate. He settled upon a firm basis the safety of the State and the prosperity of all, and every one by his powerful plans and happy arrangement obtained secure portions (fiefs) and arranged comforts. Then he turned his face unto the sacred warfare with the infidels and the humiliation of the enemies of the faith, and began to make war upon the country of Hindústán, whose inhabitants are universally enemies of Islám, and worshippers of images and idols. He turned then upon these regions and provinces, and extinguished, by the water of his sword-wounds, the sparks of idolatry struck from their fire-altars, and gave to the winds

the temples and the meeting-places of those base ones, and in their room placed fabrics of mosques and shrines. He received those who believed into the protection of quarter, and caught the idolaters in the net of destruction, and between him and the rebellious contests of those cursed ones, and the resistance of those devils, lamentable affairs occurred, the record of which will remain upon the page of time until the last day ; and the Amir, in enduring the difficulties of those weighty affairs and the intense stubbornness of those actions displayed a front of patience and endurance under which human strength would have failed, unless the aid of the mercy and power of the Lord had provided an egress. These verses form a recital and picture of his words and deeds :—

"Virtue is my ancestor. Exertion is my father.
"My choice is fame, with her grand gains.
"My occupation is to do that which my inclination hateth.
"My ideal is a prince, heroic, zealous.
"My word is all that may be stirring and fervid;
"And my object is praise and complacency."

At a time when he was compiling an account of the course of these expeditions and had commanded a history of the transactions of those events, it fell into the fortunate (speech) phrase of the Sultan (to mention) that "once when I was, during those hostilities, in the ranks of the army,

and the enemy had been reinforced in great and overflowing numbers, and we by a great proportion fewer than they, and that sacred war had been drawn out to a great length, and all the splendour and means which we possessed remained no longer, and the road of assistance or of seeking aid was stopped, and for long we had remained in the difficulties of that distress and the anguish of that affliction, and the captains of those troops and the chiefs of those people sought relief from their want of strength, and the means of sustaining life, and how they should discover the path of patience under that misery, and endurance under that hardship, I had no remedy except that there was a small remaining quantity of winnowed wheat, which I had for the delicacies of the kitchen: this I divided and shared amongst them all, and every day provided a little, according to their need, until God gave victory and fulfilled the promise contained in the exalted word of Truth, so that, of those accursed ones, some became the food of the sword, most were captive in the chains of captivity, and many took to flight in the robes of disgrace and shame." And, in like manner, Abúl Hasan Khazin relates (from Hasan) his good order and management thus: When, upon two occasions, I held office under the Amír, he possessed not ample means, and if he wished in the week to entertain as guests, once or twice, the

lords of the empire, he provided liberally from his private allowance, that he might thus be enabled to adhere firmly to the rules whereby a good name and fame are preserved. But by all such means his fortunes were enlarged, until the extent of his territory and empire became wide, and he increased his expenditure in proportion to his rank and wealth, until his presence became the Kaaba of hope and the Kiblah of prosperity (Verse)

"His pure soul made him rule purely, and made him to know energy and diligence, and made him a king, a hero, until he exalted and dignified his people."

The first victory which in his happy age appeared was the conquest of Bost.*

ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE PROVINCE OF BOST.

It originated in the following circumstances: One named *Tufán* was prince of this territory, and another, whose name was *Báitúz*, wrested the country from him by force, and expelled him. Túfán, incapable of resistance, possessed no resource except to retire from the land, and fled for refuge, in his distress, to the protection of Násir-ad-dín. Of him Tufán requested troops, to recover his estate from his

* Bost, or Bust, in Sistán or Sajastán, on the borders of Zabulistán.

enemy, proffering his services and engaging himself to the distinguished Government, by a promise that he would every year send a fixed tribute to the Treasury, and, in case of need, would assist the Amír with his army of chiefs and nobles, and would fulfil the customs of service, and settle his son with Násir-ad-dín, as an hostage for his obedience. The Amír, being of a kind and generous nature, assented to this petition, and sat down before Bost with a complete army. In this war great efforts were made on both sides, and the Amír Násir-ad-dín charged with the centre body of his troops and scattered the enemy's army into the narrow abodes of the city. Many were wounded and the rest fled. Tufán was restored to his kingdom and expressed his thanks for the generous and fortunate aid of Násir-ad-dín, yet he began to delay and evade the services to which he had agreed, meditating a falling short in and a retreat from the full completion of his treaty, until the proofs of his treachery and deceit became daily more evident; and one day, when together in the field, Násir-ad-dín addressed to him some bitter reproaches; he returned an unbecoming answer, which drew on a dispute; and this went so far that Tufán put his hand to his sword and wounded Násir-ad-dín; and the Amír, witnessing this graceless act, clapped his hand upon his sword and inflicted upon Tufán a great wound. He wished

to repeat it, but was forcibly restrained by the soldiers. Násir-ad-dín hereon commanded his troops to march forth upon that plain and cleanse the tablet (of life) from their odious existence. In the space of one hour of the day all that country was conquered. Túfán and Báítúz took the path of Kirmán and never saw that country again, even in their dreams, nor admitted a thought of that subject into their minds. But of all the advantages which resulted to the Amír Násir-ad-dín, from that victory (one of the most important) was the acquisition of the services of the Shaikh *Abúl-Fath-Bustí*, who was without an equal in virtue, acquirements, understanding, and eloquence. He was Secretary to Báítúz, and when the two Amírs betook themselves away from that country Abúl-Fath remained behind and concealed himself within the city. They made known unto Násir-ad-dín his excellent qualifications, who intimated a wish for his presence. When he offered his respects the Amír received him generously and honourably, confirming his former rank and giving him good promises, and commanding that so respectable an individual should be inscribed in the books of accounts, for the same amount of allowances as he had received in the service of Báítúz. He gave him the same place and committed to his guidance the same business as he had before directed. The Shaikh Abúl-Fath-Bustí

thus relates:—"When the Amír Násir-ad-dín valued me as worthy of such good fortune and honoured me with such special favour, committing to me the portfolio of requests, which is the treasury of secrets, I began to think, This king cannot have full confidence in my deeds or words: he has but recently given me pardon and protection, whilst he in whose service I have been was his marked enemy and opponent. If, therefore, some envious or ill-wishing person distort and confuse my conduct it is possible that the arrow of malignity may reach the mark. I therefore went to pay my respects to him and said, There can exist no higher office or mark than that with which the Sovereign has been graciously pleased to distinguish this servant; yet this servant deems it fitting that he should for a while find His Majesty's permission (to retire) and to remain under the shadow of the King's protection, in some place appointed for that purpose, until the Sovereign have fully arranged all affairs relating to this dishonourable Páítúz,* and the kingdom be at rest from disturbances and changes, and the centre-point of affairs revolve with stability; then this servant will kiss the distinguished hand and will look this office in the face, when he shall have become justified from and cured of this mark of disgrace, and

* This name is either *Baituz* or *Paituz*.

note of suspicion, and shall be fixed and settled in the high road of confidence and the way of reputation."

The Amír Násir-ad-dín approved this remark and thus signified his commands:—"You must depart unto the land of Rukháj and there remain an expectant of favour, until the summons shall proceed from our presence, when you shall without delay enter upon our service." "The Amír accordingly sent a royal rescript, and transmitted directions respecting me to the officers of the country. I began to journey towards the place, and enjoyed myself in the highest degree in traversing that plain."

The Shaikh further relates: "One night I was returning thanks for the accomplishment of a portion of the journey and the passing of that stage, and I passed the whole night considering and observing the stars and the constellations, until the streak of the *kohol* (eye-lash dye) of morning appeared in the openings of the clouds of night, and the bright flash of day rose upon the destiny of darkened mankind. I descended, for the purpose of performing the appointed duty of prayer, and when I had fulfilled my devotions and the light of day had removed the dark veil from before my obscured eye, I looked upon the beauty and the delights of that wilderness, which resembled a cultivated field. It was fair as the

cheek of heart-stealers and bedecked like the enchanting gardens of Paradise. Brilliant as the peacock's feathers and as the banquet of Kaykáús were the running streams, and the upland plains, and the boundless wilds. Then this verse passed into my mind, 'Your father Adam was one of the rebellious, but in knowledge you partake with angels.' Hereupon it fell into my mind to cast the sacred lot, whether I should go forward or remain. I produced a book I carried with me for the purpose of divination, and the first line of the volume was this, 'When thou hast fully arrived at thy point of safety go not beyond it.' Hereon I said unto myself, what lot can be more sure than this? and no place can be more suitable than this. I therefore commanded that my baggage waggons and furniture should be turned towards this spot, and here, for a princely time, I remained in this country, enjoying the cool shade of repose, and on this chess-board I paraded like the queen, in the enclosure of security and refreshment, until the adorned letters arrived, with the exalted rescript to summon me. I hastened to the royal service and, amidst the confidential officers of His Highness, I attained to what I attained."

For, after this occurrence, the Office of Requests was conferred upon this personage, until the latter period of the reign of Náṣir-ad-díu, and

the Sultán Yamín-ad-doulah committed unto him, during the early part of his reign, the office of President of Investitures, whence all letters of victory and the contents of rescripts, volumes, and account-books, were by his elegant composition adorned, polished, promulgated, and finally recorded. He was retained in this advantageous and lucrative office until for some cause he quitted the presence and retired into the land of the Turks. He died whilst there absent.

The Amír Násir-ad-dín having brought this country to peaceful submission appointed a vice-governor and began to meditate an attack upon Kasdar.* This place was nigh the Amír's territory. The prince of that country was hemmed in by strong fortresses and enclosed in a fruitful and plentiful land. Hence he imagined that the wheel of altered fortune could not possibly turn against him, and that the hand of the vicissitudes of life could never reach the collar of his prosperity, and knew not how utterly the King, favoured of the moonlit Heaven, despised him, and, like an eagle, could catch the winds by the arrow of might, until one night, at the hour when the bud of dawn begins to blow and the bride of morning is proudly proceeding from the darkened net-work of her

* Kasdar, or Kustar, in the mountains of Ar Rushaj (Rukhaj ?)

couch, the Sultán came with his irresistible, encircling, faithful army and at one blow rendered him ruined and a prisoner (Verse)

"Lo! whilst the chief of the herd is drinking amidst the females,

"Whilst the dogs are barking and a sacrifice is to be offered on account of a child new-born,

"One in great haste roasts him for a company arriving."

For the state of the destruction of that morning recalled the saying, "He took him as the butcher takes the sheep." Afterwards, through his gentle and humane disposition, the Amír decided that the Prince of that land should be confirmed in the possession of his territory, appointing unto him a fixed tribute, to be paid year by year, into the Treasury, and enjoining that the coin and the public buildings should be decorated with the blessed name and the happy surname of Násir-ad-dín.

Násir-ad-dín having completed the conquest of Kasdar, directed his thoughts towards the conquest of infidels. He turned his face towards India and meditated striking a blow at those accursed, and coming on the rear of that land of unbelievers. With sincere fervour and pure design of pleasing God he undertook the hardship of that sacred war and displayed unshaken resolution in patiently prosecuting it, until he had utterly conquered and possessed himself of many castles and

strongholds of those far lands, whither the standards of Islám had never penetrated and upon which the bright signs of truth had never glanced. He, by these fortified holds and territories, augmented the boundaries of his kingdom. But when Jaipál,* King of Hindústan, observed these things and saw the line of his frontier continually diminishing, and immeasurable fractures and losses every moment caused in his States, that grievance rendered him disturbed and inconsolable. He represented to himself that if he should allow himself to be remiss and slothful under so great a cause for anxiety, and so signal a misfortune, nor set his face to resist it, his hereditary kingdom would go to the winds, and, in such an horrible event, the world would be severe upon him. He saw no remedy, except in beginning to act and to take up arms. He assembled, therefore, all his princes, feudatories, nobles, and allies, and with a great army approached the Musalmán territory, hoping that the awe of his force would procure him retribution, and that the chasm which by the powerful army of Islám had been so visibly made in his coasts and his country would be removed, and the wound which the gleaming sword of Násir-ad-dín had inflicted upon the iniquitous infidels would be closed up; and in him was exemplified the text,

* Jaipál, Jaibál, Haibal, or Hainal.

"They wish to extinguish the light of God in their hearts, but God forbid that his light should not be perfected, although the idolaters abhor it." He left Lamghân, in full reliance upon the valour of his troops and in expectation of victory, through his conquering army and allies. In his head was the intoxication of confidence and in his heart the blackness of vain conceit (Verse)

"No one of sense gives positively until he has gotten. Draw up your robe dry from your leg, when the billows are twinkling upon the shore."

And when the Amír Násir-ad-dín perceived this he began the work vigorously, and marched from Ghazna against Jaipál. They came together upon the frontiers of each state. Each army mutually attacked the other, fought and resisted in every way, until the face of the earth was stained red with the blood of the slain, and the lions and warriors of both armies and nations were worn out and reduced to despair. Then the Sultán Yamín-ad-doulah Mahmúd,* in this contingency, remarked that all skill and intelligence was unequal to the subjugation of this fort, and that all human power fell short against it. And he remarked, further, that in that region, wherein was the encampment of the accursed, the water of

* *I. e.*, the Prince Mahmúd, subsequently the Sultán Yamin-ad-doulat.

a spring was pure and bright, whilst free from any unclean substances, but whenever any impure thing* was thrown therein a great flash of lightning shone forth, and furious winds arose, and a bitter cold succeeded, so that no one could at all endure to remain there. The Amír Nasir-ad-dín therefore commanded that they should cast some wine-flasks into the fountain. Immediately a great darkness spread over the land and the bright day became obscured, and the atmosphere, from the sharpness of the extreme cold, drew over itself a grey mist, so that patience could no longer endure such sufferings, and they were near unto the fate of death. Hereupon Jaipál sent a messenger, seeking a truce and asking pardon, and engaged to surrender at discretion, and to send every year a fitting tribute to the Treasury, and accept the authority of the Amír over his States, and to present gifts of homage, such as a marbit (yoke) of elephants, or any other propitiating gifts he might command. The Amír Nasir-ad-dín, through his ingenuous and generous disposition, was content with this proposal, and wished to compose this affair, and to grant unto his chiefs and army some gratifying gifts out of these splendid cessions. But the Sultán Yamín-ad-doulah Mahmúd gave not in to this, but resolutely refused, and said, You

* A spring, into which, if a small quantity of a *certain drug* should be thrown, &c., &c.—Dow's *Hindustán*, p. 27.

cannot bring this affair to an end, except by storming out, and to grant a truce in their calamitous state would be unbecoming and unworthy the glory of Islám. "Cry not for peace nor demand it, for you are the highest and God is with you, and will not suffer your affairs to fail." When then the messenger returned hopeless, and intimated the state of things, exposing the reply he had received and the disappointment of their expectations, Jaipál saw that there was no resource except in returning to means of extremity and despair. He sent back the messenger and said (in accordance with the proverb) "When they desire terms grant terms, for that is better than fighting. Do not by fighting deliver them from their weakness (difficulty) for they can destroy lives but once."

The substance of his message was as follows: "You have heard and know the nobleness of Indians, how that, in seasons of extremity, they fear not death or destruction. They run the edge of the sword over those who wrong them, when there is no means of escaping the blade. In affairs of honour and renown we would place ourselves upon the fire like roast meat, and upon the dagger like the sumrays." If this disinclination to show us the favour of a truce and capitulation proceed from desire of the enjoyment of our wealth, our elephants, our damsels, or our children, then, when

the crocodile (of extreme distress) arrive and the wish for safety becomes a (frustrated) desire, then we shall throw all that pertains unto us, our riches and our possessions, alive and dead, into the fire, and destroy them, and afterwards kill ourselves, so that nothing but dust and ashes will remain. "The fire will consume, nor will they war with the dead and the refuse."

The Amír Nasir-ad-dín hearing this, and thinking it horrible that they should fulfil their threat, diverted his views from the project of expulsion by storm and directed them towards peace and kindness. He interceded with Yamín-ad-doulah Mahmúd and prevailed upon him to give up his project of revenge. He was content that the enemy should present, by way of ransom, one thousand packets each of one thousand dínars sterling, and five stables full of elephants, and should cede some cities of Hindustán and some fortresses within the heart of his kingdom, and that both himself, his courtiers, and the principal officers of his army should give their sons as hostages, until the terms of the treaty should be carried into effect and the chiefs and dependants of the conquered party should have acceded to them, when the territories and fortresses should be restored.

To the whole of this they agreed, and both sides separated from one another, and, when

Jaipál had gone a few stages and was in safety, and was secure in the midst of his kingdom, his base and evil nature led him to infringe the treaty. He entered upon measures contrary thereto, and as certain persons were with him, by way of doing him honour and for the purpose of taking possession of the fortresses and territories ceded by the agreement, he threw them into prison, by way of reprisal for some of his comrades and company, who were detained at the Amír's Court, as a measure of retaliation. When intelligence of this was brought to the Amír he would not receive it, but thought it a mere rumour, until the news was repeatedly confirmed, when the deceit and treachery of that belier of kindness was manifested, and the truth of his perfidy came forth from the veil of report.

The fire of jealousy then rose high in his heart, and the purpose of revenge wholly possessed him. He proceeded to the country of the infidel traitor, and wheresoever he came he plundered and sacked the country until it was annihilated. He dug up and burnt down all its buildings, and killed those deceivers and infidels, carrying away their children and cattle as booty. He made the territory of Lamgan (in Kashmir), which had been the most populous and flourishing of all that country, entirely stript and bare. He mastered several other territories, and,

destroying their temples, their sacred buildings, and their churches, built mosques in their stead, making the light of Islám visible.

News of these victories and intelligence of these exploits spread through all the world, and all the people of Islám rejoiced exceedingly, and he returned to Ghazna, on the wing of victory and of success (Verse)

"Truly thou hast returned the infidel to their milking (or to Aleppo) as happily as when the ornaments are returned to the maiden who has been stripped of them."

And when Jaipál witnessed the destruction of his kingdom and experienced the consequences of his treacherous infraction of the treaty, seeing the glory of his kingdom taken from him and his confederates made a prey to the lion, he was deeply chagrined and perplexed in finding a remedy for this misfortune. He found himself powerless to do anything, except to invoke help, and therefore dispatched letters, seeking succour, to the various provinces of India, imploring aid. He thus assembled nearly 100,000 horse and directed his march towards the capital of Islám. When the Amír received intelligence of his return he, in full and strong hope, advanced the standards of Islám to meet him, resolute and relying upon the goodness of the Creator (His name be magnified) and looking for the fulfilment of His promise made

respecting the gift of success to His Word and exalting the standard verses of the faith, *i. e.*, "Kill them, God will chastise them by your hands and will pierce them through, and give you victory over them and comfort the hearts of believing people." And when the armies were near to one another the Amír went into a thicket, in disguise, in order to reconnoitre the number of these accursed people. He saw that they were like an immense ocean, and their army like a host of innumerable ants and locusts. However he was like a lion, who foresees a feast when he beholds numerous huntsmen, or like a wolf, more bold as the company of horsemen is greater. Assembling his ardent and brave warriors he intimated to them their glorious and noble lot, exhorting them to destroy and vanquish those wretches. All appeared ready and eager for the affair, all hearts being encouraged by a liberal distribution of rewards, honours, and promotions. The Amír Násir-ad-dín commanded that a company of five hundred men, a portion of similar successive reserves, should make an attack upon the enemy, and should maintain their position with their utmost efforts and exertions, and that when these had done their utmost and had fulfilled their designed duty another company of five hundred should succeed in their room, and that all should push forward in that manner. They followed his

directions, and in this manner, they made their way onward, until they terrified the infidels. Then they made one simultaneous charge upon them and made some prisoners, but the rest betook themselves to flight, throwing away all their arms, and weapons, and incumbrances, and so quitted the land. "The judgment of God is upon those who stray from him and this judgment cannot be evaded."

From this time the Hindús drew in their tails and sought no more to invade the land, and were content that they were suffered to dwell in peace in the more distant parts of their country, in order that no trouble should happen to them from the house of Islám. And this territory was entirely annexed to the lands of Islám, was adorned by the brilliancy of the true worship, and its inhabitants included in the efficient, excellent, and prosperous vice-royalty of Násir-ad-dín, being brought beneath the wing of his pastoral care. And all his subjects and servants girded up their loins in his behalf, and whenever he needed aid, or entered upon any design or expedition, a thousand horse attended his stirrup and were bound to follow his victorious banner.

This affair being concluded the Amír Ridha-Abul-Kasím-Núh, Ibn Mansúr, Sámány, King of Khurásán, cast his eye upon Nasir-ad-dín, and sought assistance, in order to meet an army which

was troubling him, which proceeded from the Turkish provinces, which was disturbing him in his enjoyment of territories that had long belonged to his throne, and was coveting his hereditary kingdom, that, by such aid, he might confirm that kingdom to his race. The Amír Násir-ad-din, induced by that generosity which God had implanted within his august nature, thought himself obliged to assent to this request, and to aid a king thus unjustly exposed to be shaken from his ancient house, to restore his kingdom, to avenge him upon his enemies, and, by coming to his succour, to fulfil the just obligation of repressing those who injure one's connexions, thus perpetuating the record of his glory in the volume of time. Doubtless the Creator made his zeal to be the cause of the confirmation of the empire unto him and unto his posterity, poured constant benefits upon this energetic warrior and his children, and retained his successors in the possession of that dominion. "God, the possessor of the greatest good, grants His favours unto whomsoever He willeth."

Account of the Decease of Mansur-'bn-Núh.*

In the course of the year 365 the Amír Sadíd-

* Mansúr 'bn Núh, a prince of the family of Sámán, was (feudal) sovereign of the whole extent of country which lies between the Jaxartes and the Indus.

Mansúr-Ibn-Núh had deceased, and his throne and seat became vacant. The nobles and chiefs of the state assembled and inaugurated his son, the Amír Ridha-Núh-Ibn-Mansúr into that dignity. He was in the waywardness of early youth, when he was thus adorned with the splendour of government the majesty of royalty, and the grandeur of power. As soon as he was firmly seated upon the throne he opened his treasury, and expended that wealth and those precious jewels and ornaments which his bygone ancestors and the grand viziers had accumulated, upon the chiefs of his army and his troops, and the various ranks of his servants, gratifying every one of his dependents and companions, who was well-affected towards him, with valuable presents and royal gifts, so that their hearts became firm in obedience and devotion to him, and the directors of the world placed their heads upon the signature of his commands, holding fealty to him, and seeking his will and direction. Abul-Hasan-Símjúr, General of the Army,* was at Nishapúr. Unto him Nuh-Ibn-Mansúr sent a commission, as Commander-in-Chief of the troops, and intimated to him the late events, his accession to his hereditary kingdom, and his inauguration by the whole army. He gratified him with various proofs of kindness, generous favours, and aug-

* *I. e.*, of Khurasán.

mented rank, and promised an increase in his share of benefits, so that Simjur expressed the greatest friendship for him and fully assented to his accession. The Vizárat was confirmed to Abul-Hasan-Utbi, who, by his excellent understanding, knowledge, and intellect, arranged all the affairs of the State in due order, exhibiting himself as a mirror of justice and equity. This Vizír rendered the chiefs of the State firm and constant guardians of its interests, and held the restive by the bridle of obedience, so that the fame of the good order and magnificence of that kingdom was diffused throughout the world, and the chiefs of the provinces regularly discharged the due tributes and the accustomed services, and the Amír-Adhad-ad-doulat, on account of the eminent rank, noble renown, strict conduct, strong kingdom, and noble bearing of His Highness, considered his good-will worth seeking, and determined upon measures of fidelity and obedience, and scrupulously fulfilled the requests offered from that quarter. Sometimes, indeed, he evaded certain directions of His Highness, and a spirit of opposition and resistance prevailed, and he exhibited a wish to decline some requisitions, but when he carefully considered the effects of rebellion and the consequences of strife he resisted this temptation and adhered to the rules of peace, and kept his mind in repose by the bond of wisdom and the

advantage of friendship. "There is always good in the tractable, but never look for service in a fool until the sun shines at night." Ahmad Khawárazmy was one of the confidential officers of Núh Mansúr Sámány, and the Amír sent through him every year gifts to the glorious Kaaba and to the honoured Medína (God perpetuate their splendour) in order to spend them duly in honouring the two sacred places and the holy men, thus to obtain rank and merit. This officer relates thus:— "Once, when I came from Khurásán, on the pilgrimage, when I arrived at the abode of Islám, I, as usual, presented my respects at the Court of Adha-ad-doulat.* He received me very kindly and made me describe the state of affairs in Khurásán, the mode in which business was settled and security obtained, and the vizárat of Abul-Hasan-Utbí. He displayed a full acquaintance of the manner in which this Vizír transacted and arranged the government," and he said "If any service was enjoined by His Highness or any request be made you may present it." Hereupon I presented a memorandum, given to me by the Shaikh Abul Hasan, containing the requisitions of the gifts

* Adhaddoulat, being an Amír of the family of Buyah or Boyah, independent sovereigns of the Caspian provinces, was, as will be seen, indignant at the assumption of suzerainty by any prince of the rival family of the Samanides, to which the Ghaznivides ultimately succeeded.

assigned to him to pay. These in the whole were one thousand robe-pieces, embroidered with the name Amír, Said, Malik, Mansúr, Wali-Au-naan, Abul-Kasim-Nuh-'bn Mansúr, Wali Amír-Almúminín, and five hundred embroidered with the name Shaikh Jalíl Said, Abul-Hasan, Abd-Allah-Ibn-Ahmad, and five hundred plain, in the name of the Chamberlain Hisám-ad-doulat, Abul-Abbás-Tash. When he had read this memorandum he became excited, angry, and jealous, and dropped the bridle of self-command from his hand. He turned his face upon me and said, If the son of Utbi would be content with the government of Khurásán and draw his foot into the skirt of peace, and think of moderation it would be happier for him and for his master, than these degrading directions which he proposes to me. However I, with my sharp blood-drawing sword, will let the proud breeze into his brain, and with the fire of my noble horses will scatter fire-ashes from the depths of the Jihún. For, with our lion-warriors and brave soldiers, we will go forth to the chase, until he shall know his place and no longer present to me thus authoritatively such exorbitant demands as these. "Return to them, we will surely bring an army against them, and we will surely compel them to come forth, to receive scorn thereby. They are vile," Ahmad Khawárazmy says, "My limbs were full of terror at him: I

arose and left the durbár, and, in my apprehension and dread, left all to his good faith. When the season for marching forth on the pilgrimage arrived he sent and called me back, and addressed me with great kindness and respect, and said, I have issued an order, in accordance with the memorandum, in order that you may receive the whole. I am unwilling that, on account of such a matter, any ill-will should enter the mind of Abúl Hasan, or any vexation find its way unto him; therefore you must go to the robe-makers and give orders for the robes, in such numbers and in such amount as you desire, so that when you return all may be done and laid up ready for you. So I went and ordered the robes, as directed by the requisition, and, when I returned, conveyed them to Bukhárá, with other gifts and offerings of friendship." Abul Hasan Utbi carried away the prize (literally staff of precedency) from all his equals in high-mindedness, virtue, and generosity. The most eminent poets of the age were zealous in his praise, and composed sets of encomiastic stanzas upon him, in particular Abú-Tali Mahúny, who arranged many good verses in commendation of him (Verse)

"These compositions of Utbi! they divide the skull from the neck, when they reproach! He has such intellect! like the iron-end of a spear, when it starts forth from his breast, the earth is not large enough for its scope. When he draws forth his pen to reply or to announce clouds and heroes are tumul-

tuously drawn along. He resembles the pilgrim ascending the sacred mountain, or the sacred proclaimer, joyfully sounding forth the accomplishment of the pilgrimage and the arrival at the goal."

The office of Great Chamberlain was given to Abúl-Abbás Tásh, who, upon his investment with the office, exhibited good points of conduct, and in conciliating hearts, rendering dispositions friendly, and directing the various ranks of the army, displayed an unsullied hand, exhibiting becoming zeal in supplying the wants and fulfilling the wishes of every one, being ready to aid and intercede for all. The Shaikh Abúl-Hasan-Utbi earnestly endeavoured also to promote *his* welfare and dignity, opening to him various opportunities of advantage and profit, until he became remarkable for wealth and jewels. The cause of the authority which he possessed in the State and the army was this, viz., because Abúl Abbás Tásh was one of the slaves of Abú Jabar Utbi. He was eminently adorned with intellect, possessing traces of a noble and generous disposition, whence he profited by the instructions of his master, and became an excellent and accomplished man. Abu Jafar Utbi perceived him, therefore, to be well fitted for the service of the Amír Sadíd-Mansúr Núh, and sent him as a present to that Prince. And when the Shaikh Abúl-Hasan-Utbi, who knew him intimately and possessed perfect confidence in his fortunate supe-

riority, good judgment, wisdom, and influence, acceded to office he admitted him to a full share of the administration of affairs, and raised him so high in office that the great men of the world found it necessary to inscribe themselves as attached to his service and to wear the badge of obedience to him. The Amír then gave the office of Chamberlain* to Fáik, who had also been a slave of Mansúr-ibn-Núh, and had obtained great influence and power with that Prince, becoming his arm and breastplate, through his strict probity and merit. The command of the army of Khurásán was confirmed to Abúl Hasan Simjúr, and these two officers exerted themselves to the utmost in consolidating the splendour of the kingdom and protecting the garden of the State. The affairs of His Highness, by means of their union and concord, arose in dignity up to the star Capella, until the sidelong crooked eye of fate marked him, and with wounding glance caused fortune to change, so that a foundation so well supported and a throne so solidly founded in dignity, began to be challenged and disturbed by the hand of novelty. "When the command is fulfilled decay draws near; we may look for ruin when it is said 'It is done.'" The origin of the disgrace and injury of this kingdom is to be found in the affairs of Sistán.

* *I. e.*, second chamberlain.

History of Khalaf-ibn-Ahmad, King of Sistan.

Khalaf Ahmad, King of Sístán, undertook, in the year 354, the pilgrimage to Mecca, and left his kinsman, Táhir-ibn-Hussain, Viceroy of his territories. This man set himself up in rivalry to the King, seduced the army of Khalaf, seized his strongholds and treasures, and desired to possess himself of the throne of Sístán. When Khalaf returned he found his kingdom in confusion and his return to his capital intercepted. He fled to Mansúr-ibn-Núh, Sámány, and implored his aid, to deliver his kingdom from the grasp of Táhir. Mansúr was disposed, as he was a kinsman, to favour him, and sent his army with him towards Sístán, in order to restore him to his country and remove his grief. Táhir, when he received intelligence of the succour given by Mansúr's army, left the country and fixed himself at Isfaráín, so that Khalaf repossessed himself of his kingdom, and the generals and supporting troops of His Highness Mansúr returned content. Then Táhir rushed upon him, defeated him, and compelled him to fly to Bádghíz.* Khalaf, in his distress, again betook himself to His Highness Mansúr, and earnestly implored his succour and help. Mansúr received him with generosity and esteemed

* Badghiz, a town of Khurasán, on the road from Herát to Merúar-Rúd.

it a duty to afford him honourable regard and effectual aid. He therefore dispatched a chosen army of warriors, to assist him. When Khalaf came to Sístán with that army Táhir had died, and his son Hussain had succeeded him in his opposition to Khalaf. He commenced an obstinate resistance and took up a strong position, in one of the fortresses of Sístán. Khalaf besieged him in the citadel of Ark. Many battles took place and many of the soldiers of Hussain, son of Táhir, were slain. Hussain, in this extremity, sent a person to His Highness Mansúr, requesting that he might be freed from the stigma of rebellion, and offering service and submission. He further entreated that access might be opened for him to His Highness, and that a safe conduct might be granted him through the beleaguering troops, that he might present his respects at the Court and obtain the honour of kissing hands. Mansúr accepted his excuses and issued a rescript, according to his demand, for his admission to the presence. Khalaf was reinstated in his kingdom and his authority was established upon the former basis. Thus he passed many years, until excess of pride and wealth affected his mind, and he forgot what he owed unto that dynasty, and began to delay and refuse transmitting tribute and customs to the government of Bukhárá. The Amír reproved him in rescripts and letters, filled with good advice, and

reminding him of the assistance formerly rendered to him ; but he, through the intoxication of rebellion and the vapour of sedition, was carried onward in his career, and proceeded in strengthening and rooting himself, and in looking more acutely with the eye of undutifulness, until Hussain-Ibn-Táhir was sent against him, with all the warriors and heroes of Khurasán, who besieged him in the fortress of Ark. This siege lasted a long time, and the Vizér Abul Hasan Al Utbi sent messengers continually, and expressed to the chiefs and nobles his eager desire for the completion of the enterprize ; but, after all efforts, the realization of his wish never came forth from the veil of Providence, and his aim never reached the mark. The affair remained unaccomplished for years, because the height of this castle was so great as to be as unknown as the secrets of Heaven, and every voice was (united) with the voice of angels. Its roof reached the plain of Arcturus, and the sentinel could hear the distant angelic hymns, and from its noble summit brilliancy spread and the clouds wore a delicate robe for its height (Verse)

"For the service of every (impious) rebel are its peaks, for by it thou mayest ascend to Heaven on a staircase."

And around it was a great moat, in whose depth imagination could find no footing, and in fording which every foot would sink in mud. Like the

crocodile it conveyed away horseman and footman, and, like fate, it allowed stability neither to clay or hard earth (Verse)

"Mortals totter by its side, as the moth by the edge of the flame, and its dread almost exhausted the cavalry, as the sand swallows the showers."

And Khalaf, by various skilful sidelong strokes and crafty blows, continually troubled the besiegers, and upon every place where they stood cast at them pots full of serpents and scorpions, from slinging machines, and made whatever they confided in a place of ambuscade, and made their nights sleepless. Seven years were thus consumed, through the stubbornness of this hero, and the resistance of this crafty one, and the men remained unable to accomplish the affair, and property, and treasure, and horses, and men, and arms were wasted. The vestiges of the weakness and the indications of the debility of the army of Khurásán became unfolded and published, and the honour and the exultation of the enemy, and the strength of the opponents became manifest, and every look and every day afforded room for some fresh blow and some new injury to the Prince's warriors. But there is an end to everything and a limit to every kingdom, to every condition happens decay and to every dynasty applies the quotation, "God erases and establishes whatsoever He willeth, and with Him is the book of Fate."

And when Abúl Hasan Símjúr became sensible of the badness of this business and the dulness of this market he attached himself to traitorous determinations, and he constructed the measure of self-protection, and from preserving the good state of the kingdom, and establishing conservative regulations, betook himself to laxity and indifference, and fell into the habit of leaving and carelessly neglecting the duty of the accumulation of reinforcements and the thickening of the army, and the strokes of the billows of troops (Verse)

"For us, the guidance of fortune will not favour us, but whilst it beholds him who is earnest. All that fortune produces is the reed; manliness mounts a spear-head upon the reed."

So that the sons of the dynasty and the advisers of the presence extended the tongue of reproof, and found a wide field for correction and attack, and said—"Marks of support, of attachment, of honour, from the family of Sámán, have been more conspicuous with regard to none of the princes and officers than with regard to the son of Símjúr, and unto no other subject did the Amír Sadíd Ibn Mansúr Ibn Núh exhibit a more tender regard and preference; and he conferred upon him the province of Khurásán, which is the white of the State's eyes and the best portion of the kingdom, in order that, when trial should arise and misfor-

tune attack, he might prove a fervent heat and a powerful column, and, in fulfilling the obligations of gratitude for this favour, might devote his head and his life, and prove a protecting veil to the King, his heirs and successors. Now, since he begins to belie his favours and displays connivance and indifference in the performance of the obligations of duty, and in the defence of the honour of the throne, it may be necessary to issue a document for his removal, and to give his rank and allowance to another of the servants of the State, who, in the efficiency of his orders, in the stopping up outbreaks, and in the conciliation of all may exhibit firmness.'* And they dispatched from His Highness a document, for his removal from his government and from the command of the army of Khurasán, and settled his dignity and office upon Hisám-ad-doulat Tásh. And when this document came to Abul Hasan Símjúr the sinfulness of pride withdrew the bridle of self-command from his hand, so that he gave a peevish reply and openly uttered a rebellious word, and rejected the rescript of His Highness. Afterwards, finding the eye of understanding, he looked into the issue of affairs and thought that any rebellion against the master of his prosperity would meet with unpleasant consequences, and that to draw upon the records of Símjúr the mark of treachery and the path of disobedience would be the cause of reproof

and repentances, expose himself to vexation and difficulty, and bring upon himself misfortune instead of plenty, and that to taste the poison upon the bow is not the part of the wise. Wherefore he assembled his children, chiefs, and followers, and calmed them with various kinds of good counsel and chapters of advice, and said (Verse)

"As to the Commander of Believers and as to that which he hath done it is Fate which hath prostrated us, there is no disgrace in the acts of Fate."

And he assured every one of them that, to be content with the determination of God and to betake himself to the path of humility, as (submitting to all that proceeded) from the master of his prosperity, would be the assurance of safety. And (for thee, they said) *not* to take consequent measures for these injuries, or reprisals for this enmity, will be more fitting than to render thyself a recipient of misfortune and to distract thyself with care, and to rub the side against the wall of strife. He therefore summoned the messenger back, and, having submitted, he expressed penitence and made apologies, and begged acceptance of his excuses, and said, "I am a young shoot of a tree, planted by the King and supported by the water of his generosity and the floodgates of his benefits, and under the canopy of his beneficence

and the veil of his generosities, I sprouted forth and exhibited myself, and having in his fortunate garden drawn out my branches and become fruit-bearing, if he suffer my service for the sake of fruit, and confirm his extended favour and his esteemed goodness, for that may he be praised and thanked, or if he pluck me up from the root and make me fuel for the fire, for that may he be excused and pardoned." So he sent back the messenger, with all obedience, and he rose up from the surface of the kingdom of Khurásán and removed to the borders of Kohistan, and there awaited for that which should arrive from His Highness, upon the subject of the rescript, who commanded that he must go to the borders of Sístán, and to make an efficient manifestation of good order, bravery, and excellence in the affairs of that place, where all has fallen into confusion, like a knot of crimes, and in these urgent matters which remain in perplexity, like the square-root of the surd, and to release the army from the difficulties of distance and the vacillations of anxiety.

Abúl Hasan Simjúr went then to Sístán, and between him and Khalaf the grounds of their old affection, concord, love, and friendship became strengthened and settled. When he arrived at that place he immediately sent some one to him, and intimated the path of agreement, saying thus, "The residence of His Excellency in this country hath

been of long continuance, and many injuries have arisen in portions of the kingdom; and since that regarding which we are eager and for the preservation of which, in its dignity, we have devoted our head and our life, *i. e.*, your principality, is going to the wind and is becoming impracticable, our efforts (to serve you) are stopped and our pains fruitless, therefore this is the way, *i. e.*, that thou shouldest rise up from this place and shouldest remove to another place, whilst I conduct away this army from this country, under the pretence of obtaining that which they seek and of receiving that which they request,* and when the field is clear that will be the fittest time to arrange presents and to settle tribute." Khalaf listened to this advice and accepted it, and acknowledged that these words proceeded from the source of safety and security. Therefore he departed from the fortress of Ark and went to the Castle Ták, and Abul-Hasan and the chief men of the State entered within the citadel and sent the good tidings (of success) and dispatched letters of victory to His Highness and to all parts, and performed the Khuttah and decorated the coined money with the surname of Nuh-Mansúr. And they directed their path towards Khurasan; but

* That is Simjúr prevailed upon Khalaf to retire, and, offering apparent submission, to reserve his troops for more important enterprizes.—De Sacy, *Notices et Extraits, &c.*

the full explication of that which after this affair happened anew between Khalaf and Husain-ibn-Táhir will fully come in its place, and be presented, please God!

History of Hisam-Addoulat-Tash, the Chamberlain, and the Transference of the Government.

Then they sent to Hisám-Addoulat-Tásh, at Nishapúr, a commission for the rank of Commander-in-Chief and General of the Army, and they committed unto his faithful and brave hand the reins of loosing and binding, of letting go and holding fast, of urgency and deficiency, and they attached unto him, for the sake of assistance and support, Faík-Khás. And a company of the chiefs and nobles and eminent men of the State were dispatched to follow his standard, and they abundantly furnished him with money, and horses, and arms, and stores, and military necessaries. And when he arrived at Nishapúr he spread open the carpet of justice, equity, and kindness, and placed upon the thread of good order the affairs of the Treasury and of the Custom-houses, and impressed the footsteps of liberality, and lessened from the poor subjects the want of food, and, by the security of his armies, before and behind, settled, confirmed, and fixed the marks of government, and the laws of authority and power, in the most distant places.

And, at this period, Sháms-Almwáli-Kabús-Ibn-Wasamgír and Fakhr-Addoulat-Ali-ibn-Búyah arrived at Kharasán, on account of the opposition which existed between them and Muwid-Addoulat. And the cause of this state of things was that Rukn-Addoulat had three sons, who each possessed a fitness for government, Azd-Addoulat-Abu-Shujaa, and Muwid-Addoulat-Buwayyah, and Fakhr-Addoulat-Alí. And he divided into three parts some territories of Irák and some part of Khurasán, and Fars, and Karmán, and other territories which were on his Treasury list, and he assigned to each of them his portion.

At this period Wathíkí wrote upon this subject, in the part relating to the Sabæans (*apostates*) given in his published work, the Kitáb-Attágí. And when Rukn-Addoulat died Azd-Addoulat coveted and contended for that territory which had been assigned unto Fakhr-Addoulat, and hindered him from obtaining it, and defeated his army. He (therefore) betook himself to recover his country and transfer it unto himself, and he fixed himself at Hamadán, the capital of the kingdom. And when the two princes drew near to engage one another, the chiefs of the army of Fakhr-Addoulat became treacherous and went to Azd-Addoulat, and joined themselves to the body of his troops, and he, in this condition, began to dread and to think upon the severe disposition,

and the bad temper, and the depth of deceit of Azd-Addoulat. For, not long previously, he, by the hands of his soldiers, had murdered Bakhtiár, his uncle's son. Therefore Fakhr-Addoulat began to fear and proceeded from the midst of the army, with some of his own private attendants, to the country of Dilam and went towards Jurjan, and attached himself to Shams-al-Muálí-Kabús-Ibn-Washamgír, and took refuge under his care and protection.

And Shams-Al-Muáli made his rank exalted, his state respected, and his condition happy, in the utmost degree; nay he exchanged his own power for his safety and prosperity, so that, through his care and generous disposition, he played away his ancient kingdom, which was the most noble of his jewels and the most precious object of his affection. The explanation of this remark is as follows: Azd-Addoulat and Muwid-Addoulat sent a messenger to Shams-Al-Muálí, and entreated him to give up Fakhr-Addoulat into their hands, and they promised much in return for that: they promised treasure in money, and gifts in revenue, and that part of the territories of the (fugitive prince) which they had left to him, and they made representations to him respecting alliances and treaties for union, and for the preservation of independance, and respecting his becoming involved and implicated in cares and troubles. Shams-Al-Muálí

gave answer: "In the law of manliness and in the rules of preserving honour it is forbidden to diminish promises, or to infringe truth and generosity, and what crime can be baser than this, that when such a prince has taken refuge in a place, and in this place expects to receive generosity and protection, to make him see trouble to betray him, and to sell him for some small worldly goods, and not rather to strive, at the expense of his own life, to preserve his dignity and to keep his life safe; and, for my part, I think that when in the midst of a troop of cavalry and at the time when men exposed their lives in the heat of battle, and when they grieve not to strike with the sword, then (only) may this proposal be carried out. For if this thought passed over the mind it would have no effect except this, that Kabús will be renowned, and that, with the flaming voice of victory, the men of Gilán, with their bright sharp spears, will bring him upon the place of honour."

And when this answer came to Azd-Addoulat he was angry, and entertained an intention of opposing and subduing Kabús, and he wrote to Muwid-Addoulat that it was necessary to make preparations and to set forward to try the strength of Kabús. And he sent unto him the men whom he required as soldiers, and all necessaries and provisions, and whatsoever was requisite to expedite the affair. And he marched from the city

Ray* and set forward to Dilám, in the direction of Jurján,† with a great army of Turks and Arabians, and wherever he came he devastated the territory of Kabús, and sent in his own Treasury collectors, and took possession of everything, until he marched upon the city of Asterabad.‡ And Shams-Al-Muálí made haste, in order that he might preserve the city of Karkán, which was his capital city, from their attack, and when Muwayyad-Addoulat had arranged their troops in order of battle on the road, then blood began to flow from the sword like rain from the clouds, and from the blood of the slain the field of battle became like a bed of tulips (Verse)

"At the time of attacking and flying, when all glistens with blood, the air becomes thick and the earth ruby-red, Fate becomes blind and Fortune deaf."

Defeat, however, befell his cavalry (*i. e.*, that of Kabús) and the enemy drove him into the midst of the forests, and, having thus put him to flight, gained a great booty. And Kabús went to one of his castles and there was maintained upon his treasures and concealed property for a time, but he made a removal in alarm and went to Nishapúr.

* Ray, a city in Persian Irák.

† Jurján, a river of Mazandaran, which falls into the Caspian Sea.

‡ Asterabad, a celebrated town on the borders of the Caspian.

And Fakhr-Addoulat joined him, by the road of Istawa,* and their separated armies fell in with them. And they wrote a letter to His Highness, at Bukhárá, and intimated to him what had befallen them, and they represented unto him that they were well acquainted with the excellent goodness and compassion of His Highness, in assisting the oppressed and in succouring the wretched. And they informed him of the injustice that had happened to each of them, through the violence of their enemies, and of their struggle for their hereditary kingdom and their ancient house, and that they would conjecture no hope of restoration or happiness except by his help and assistance, for that to remedy and rectify their losses would be impossible, unless by the concurrence and countenance of His Majesty.

Núh-Ibn-Mansúr gave an answer full of all kinds of generosity and professions of service, befitting the principles of generosity, and agreeable to the rules of attention and respect, and he sent a royal order to Hisám-Addoulat-Tásh, that he should hold both of them in honour, and see that they were treated with the utmost dignity and respect, and that he should restore them to their hereditary kingdom, and that he should exert himself to oppose their enemies and to repulse

* Istawa, or Istou, probably on the route from Mazanderan to Tús, in Khurasán.

those who disturbed them. Hisám-Addoulat-Tásh fully obeyed the royal order and took the way which had been commanded, and rendered them becoming service, and assembled the dispersed army, and marched forth from Nishápúr, to the district of Jurjan, in order that he might first recover Jurjan, where was the capital city of Kabús, and might deliver his mind from any anxiety respecting himself, and then might attend to the affairs of Fakhr-Addoulat.

And he commanded Fáík that he should set off by the road of Koms, in the direction of Ray, and that he should intercept the assisting forces and auxiliaries of Muwayyad-Addoulat, in order that, when he should see an army before him and behind him, and when his heart should be occupied on both sides, his weakness of spirits and feebleness of condition might become increased. But when Fáík had gone two or three marches on that road he began to repent and to consider the division of his army, and the diminution of the total number of the body of his troops, which would result from the constant attention, the restraint, and the harassing vigilance of a distant expedition. And he thought it expedient to recall Fáík, and the two other princes came back with him. And Muwayyad-Addoulat went into the city and entrenched himself strongly, by means of gates, and walls, and moats, and in this fortress he

waited patiently for nearly two months. And the army of Dilám, when this news arrived, halted and set forward on their return to the city; and in these skirmishes they never turned away from striking with the sword, and they ran hither and thither, like the breathing (that flutters) before death, and split upon the point of an arrow and the edge of a hair,* and in these contests their battles were like sword-cutting destiny and like life-devouring time. And when the period of the stay of the army at Karkan had become extended a scarcity arose and the means of strength, which is the support of life, became cut off, and the matter came to that point that they kneaded their grains of corn with clay, for leaven, and, by this expedient, just preserved themselves from starvation. And Utbi relates: "I have seen the soldiers' bread made of this leaven." He says this in the middle of his volume, for the purpose of pointing out their condition and the scantiness of their means of subsistance. And when the delay had become injurious and unfortunate, and when they could be patient no longer, they came out from the fortress and arranged in order of battle, and Fakhr-Addoulat, with the best part of the army of Khurasán, opposed Ali-Ramah, who was the general of the army of Muwayyad-Addoulat,

* The success on both sides, that is, was undecided and small, although the contests were severe.

and, at one attack, drove him from the field and, putting him to flight, proceeded unto Astarábád; and if the army of Khurasán had given sufficient support to Fakhr-Addoulat, all that army would have been broken up and that hand cut off. However they displayed slothfulness, in order to (indulge) their covetousness and their evil disposition, and (the enemy, therefore) returned back again and, detaching themselves from the main body of the army of the soldiers of Dilam, they made an attack upon the followers and the rear of the army of Khurasán, which was occupied with plunder, and made them all the food of the sword. And in the midst of the army with Abu-Al-Abas-Tásh, Abu-Sayad was distinguished, and a company of the troops of Kh'arazm, whose arrows, like the destiny of slaughter, never missed the mark, and many companies of the army of Dilam were swept away by their hand.

And Abu-Alfazb, a man who was astrologer to Muwayyad-Addoulat, had made a calculation (and advised him) that at that conjuncture he ought to delay, until the planet Mars began to decline from the zenith, and then resolve upon battle, and use his utmost endeavours upon the field, and that if victory ensued, in accordance with his wishes, well, but if not that he should sally forth with his troops, from that confined place, unto the open plain, and commit the event to

destiny. And Muwayyad kept this a concealed secret and made arrangements for the affair, until the time appointed and the period defined (namely) on the fourth day of the week of the month Ramadhan, in the year 371, when he went forth with the whole body of his army. And the army of Khurasán thought that they were attacking them, in the same manner as they had done on former days, and that they were coming out of the fortress with a *portion* of their troops. And the soldiers commonly said that Muwayyad-Addoulat had secretly beguiled Fáík and had carried him out of the (right) way by many gifts and great presents. For this reason, at the appointed fortunate time, he displayed inactivity, and when the army of Dilám made a charge, at the usual time, Fáík turned his back, Hisám-Addoulat and Fakhr-Addoulat kept their ground in the centre, and displayed great firmness, until the greater part of their army was broken and night approached, and a powerful and spirited enemy came up. Then Fakhr-Addoulat said, "It is not expedient that we should remain longer, since the enemy hath gained the superiority and have obtained reinforcements, and no one remains with us, since the elephants, which were the protection of our centre, and some troops who were not engulphed in the torrent, have now turned their back and given up with all the others. And (since those who are

striving for the safety of their lives do not regard advantage,) they left all their elephants and chanted (that verse of the Koran) "He who hath saved his head surely he had gained." They therefore deserted their camp, with its immense treasures, and many valuables, and innumerable jewels and slaves, and abundance of embroidered cloths, and different kinds of fruits and grains; and, until they arrived at Nishapúr, they halted and delayed at no place. And they informed His Highness of Bukhárá of the state of affairs, and gave intelligence of this untoward and incredible news. And at Bukhárá they first comforted them and gave them, according to their promise (the) assistance (of troops). And Sahile-Kafy-Ismáíl-Ibn-Abád dispatched the messengers of good news to the extremities and capital cities of the provinces, and transmitted letters of victory unto all parts and meridians of the world. And the poets of that age and the learned of that time originated elegant verses and pure compositions, in the description of this event. And the poet Bajalay thus speaks upon the affair of Muwayyad-Addoulat (Verse)

"Was there ever a condition like thine, in the contest of the renowned falconry, of the family of *Sámán*,* and (a family so) *fat*.

"Write to him whom, whilst at ease in Bukhárá, ease forsook in his sleep, when men were cut off from him."

* *Sáman* signifies *fat*.

And Abul-Husain-Utbi called the troops from Khurasán and Mawaralnahr, and appointed them ... to assemble together at Marú*, for that that place should be the place appointed for the rendezvous of all the army, until that he himself should be able to move, and by his own means should be able to rectify his own injuries, and should place upon a firm foundation the dignity of the kingdom and the freshness of the State. Núh-Mansúr gave him a khilaat of great value, and provisions and necessaries for the soldiers, and the rank of General, with the designation to the office of Vízér and of Generalissimo were annexed to the khilaat. But, as some have said (Verse)

"When affairs have come to the highest they return to the decline."

When his affairs had arrived at the highest dignity, and the deepest authority, and the most perfect prosperity, and the utmost fruition of hope, he began to set his face downward, and that khilaat was the cause of the unfastening of the rope of his life. And the cause of this event was as follows: Abul-Husain-Simjúr always attributed his removal from the government of Khurasán unto Utbí, and was continually preparing together with Fáik, for attacking and obstructing his dignity, and was constantly exerting himself to injure

* Meru or *Marv*.

his condition, by means of underhand aspersions, until Faik kept in a citadel for that object all his well-disposed youths, and for that purpose placed them close to one-another, and associated them together. And they jealously watched an opportunity of assisting him, until they prepared a fit time for accomplishing the matter. But Abul-Husain became aware of this state of things and became alarmed, and signified the state of the matter to Núh-Mansúr, who entrusted a body of his chosen troops with the care of him, in order that they might be continuously attached to him, in the way of protection. And they did keep him preserved and guarded from the snares of the enemy, until a certain night, when he was going towards the palace, when a troop of these young soldiers followed behind him, and they gave him wounds at every step, and blows without respect, and gave to the winds his life, which was the fodder of generosity, and spilt upon the ground the virtues of his unrivalled disposition. And the troop who were his guards left him the captive of misfortune and the victim of distress, as some poets have said (Verse)

"They have the kidneys and the bellies of the greedy and lustful. No one, by giving aid, will now become a martyr for the food of the word" (*i. e.*, for heavenly reward).

And they left him upon the road, bathed in his blood; afterwards they removed him to a garden,

in order that they might bring assistance to him, in the manner in which His Highness should command. At the dawn, when the morning breeze blew upon him, he groaned: the gardener, when he heard his groan, ran to His Highness's palace and announced that his master was at the point of death. They sent several persons and conveyed him to the building called Hahandaz. A multitude of physicians were appointed for him, in order that they might cure him; but the arrangement of that affair had passed away from the hand of the physician, for at that very time his soul was released, and the field of the world of the exalted and the wise became empty. The office of Vizír in him received its last seal and the kingdom of Khurásán never saw another Vizír, and never did a nobleman like him sit upon the cushion of justice, and in no history is it mentioned that any of those vizérs who have been distinguished and commended possessed such perfect excellence and beneficence, or such abundant skill in guiding and governing, as were united in him. And Ibn-Jafar-Jami says thus, in his panegyric (Verse)

"My eye, deeply grieving for thee, Abúl-Hussain, hath reflected thee in every eye. The anguish of my sorrow hath absorbed me and made me to see the day of Husain" (*i. e.*, reminded me of the commemoration of Husain's martyrdom).

Some of the ingenious had written on the door of his visiting chamber as follows (Verse)

"Thy brothers pass by thy tomb,
"And are alarmed at thy condition (or dignity).
"They no longer employ lofty words.
"Regret for thee overmasters all high (notions)."

And Hisám-Addoulat-Tásh and Shams-Al-Mualy-Kabús, and Fakhr-Addoulat (had) detained their army on the road at Nishapúr, in order to receive intelligence respecting his, *i. e.*, the Vizér's joining them, and Abu-Nasr-Utbi, who was deputy-governor of Níshapúr, relates, as follows:—

"One day Hisám-Addoulat-Tash called for me, and when I went to His Excellency I saw the gentlemen of the privy chamber assemble together, and a private audience was being given: all were giving their opinion, and they thought it convenient that they should by some means obtain some assistance in this war, and some means of repulsing the enemy. And when they saw me they welcomed me eagerly and confided to me the subject of their consultation, and requested that I would intimate to His Excellency the Vizír the recent state of their affairs, in order that he might not lay down the path of delay and procrastination in their business, but should hasten to provide for troops and to cause them to enjoy tranquillity of mind. And Shams-Al-Muálí-Kabús lifted up his head from among them and said, according to that mystical writing (of the Korán) "War is a water-

bucket,"* the affairs of the kingdom are entirely distracted by war, and there is no stability either in the front or in the rear of the State, and at the present our affairs are bound in the knot of difficulty, and our wishes are withdrawn under the veil of disappointment, and our desires beneath the curtain of error, but another time Heaven may untie this knot, and this desire may be joined to accomplishment, and this hope may be crowned by prosperity. For a prudent man seeks for the means of entering into victory and success, by his efforts and exertions, and arrives at the desired effect by means of *patience* and *resolution*, whilst the weak-minded man remains depressed, amidst weakness and vexation, and his wishes and desires are ruined, through confusion and delay, and you may regard the maxim contained in this writing as a quotation almost prophetic (Verse)

"The timid are looking (idly) for the weak to become strong.

"But this is the baseness of a miserable nature.

"If you are not content to want (patiently) a matter you seek,

"You will not be content to want anything below the stars.

"So the desire of death in contemptible affairs,

"Is as the desire of death in great affairs (*i. e.*, impatience

* Or *water-reservoir*, possibly which, if it breaks its dykes, becomes a destructive torrent. So *the begining of strife is as the letting out of water, &c.*

and weariness of life are exhibited by some perverse dispositions, even under trivial difficulties)."

Abu-Nasr-Utbi said, "I have good proof of the purity of his elegance and of the excellence of his disposition, which in depth and abundance surpasses the sea, and as to the greatness of his thoughts and the expansiveness of his intellect I have known the perfection of their acuteness and vivacity."

And, at the conclusion of this affair, the news of this afflicting difficulty and the report of this fire-burning distress arrived;* and their affairs became broken in their hand, and the arrangement of their transactions and of their hopes declined, and their inclination to sorrow and their engrossing agitation, on account of this good friend, took possession of their hearts. And they recalled Hisám-Addoulat-Tásh from His Highness of Bukhárá, in order that he might examine into all this wrong and trace out the whole of this affair. And he declined aiding and assisting them,† and adhered to His Highness. And he killed some of the offenders with the sword, and arrested some and made examples of them; but some became dispersed into the distant regions of the world. And the office of Vizír was confirmed to Abú-Al-

* *i.e.* The intelligence of the assassination of Utbí the Vizér.

† *i.e.* The assassins.

Hásán. But his disposition was too narrow fully to embrace this office, and, for that reason, he could not fully support that station.

And, in the midst of this affair, Abul-Husain-Sinjúr arrived from Sistán, and came to his place, without permission, and sat down, as a seeker of strife and disturbance, and felt an inclination that, on account of the unfortunate defence of Jurjan, and on account of the defeat which had happened to the army of Bukhárá, there might be some opportunity of disposing of his goods and making his market brisk.* Abúl-Hasán greatly blamed and reproved him, for that attempt, and directed him, by way of counsel and good advice, that he should arise from the plain of Khurasán and should remove into Kohistán, which is in Sistán, until the affairs of those parts should arrive at some final issue, and that the unfortunate events which had taken place, through recent occurrences, should be rectified, and the wind of abundance and the streets of the market should arise to greater estimation. And he promised him that, when the sincerity of his obedience, and his constancy in good service, and his ready firmness in devotion to the State should become conspicuous, he should receive various generous gifts, and that there should be an augmentation of his allowances, and

* *i. e.* Embrace the opportunity of expediting his affairs.

an increase of his rank, and an elevation of his step towards the throne, and that the settlement of his allowances should be doubled.

But when Hisám-Addoulát-Tásh went to Bukhárá and Abú-Alí-'bn-Simjúr found the plain of Khurásán empty, he watched an opportunity and arranged with Fáík the means of sending messages, and of writing, and of alliance, and of fraternity, and entreated him to join in opposition to Tásh and with the followers of his standard, and with those who were well pleased with his superiority and pledges. And he made the Sultán odious to the family of the nobles, inviting them to ally and unite themselves with him. And he succeeded in his evil request. And it happened to him according to the saying, "The intervening space can meet with its measure." *For between them an alliance and treaty took place, and a sincere unity was apparent. And he seized the officers who were over the revenues of Khurasán, and took every one of the sacred and secular endowments as revenue, for their own expenditure. And the two proceeded unto the city of Merú and actively exerted themselves in raising the revenue of Khurasán, until Tásh found it necessary, on account of the difficulties to which he was reduced, to endeavour to repel them, and to discover some

* *i. e.* All difficulties may be surmounted.

plan which should be sufficient to put a stop to the injury and the wrong which they were inflicting upon his country and his subjects. Therefore he opened his treasures and distributed his well-preserved jewels, and the most valuable portions of his wealth and his furniture, amongst the whole of his army, and proceeded from Bukhárá, and attacked the revenue-defrauders. And messengers came and went between them, and laboured at the means of agreement and of putting an end to enmity, and extinguishing the causes of strife. And they threatened them with the ruinous effects of contention, and the unpleasant consequences of enmity and provocation. And they arrived at this conclusion, that Nishapúr should belong to Tásh, and Balkh to Fáík, and Herát to Abú-Ali. And upon this foundation they made peace, and each of them went to his own country. And Abú-Bakr-Khawarazmy says, in his poem of congratulation to Abu-Ali, upon his appointment to the province of Herát (Verse)

"Thou dost congratulate the Amír of Herát, since he has now been raised above receiving congratulations for striking blows upon her. How may this world congratulate the community of a country which this world possesses" (*i. e.*, which is worldly and selfish).

And Hisam-Addoulat-Tash came to Merú, and, at the time of his setting out from Bukhara, had dismissed Mazni from the office of Vizir, and

had given his appointment to his own Chamberlain, Abd-Arrakman-Farsi, because that Mazní well knew the secret plans of Abú-Ali and Fáik, and because that it was notorious that his oil-bottle, *i. e.*, of connivance, was poured upon their affairs and that his delay, during the stirring of their rebellion, was conspicuous. When, however, he arrived at Merú his chamberlain declined the office of Vizír, and that office was committed to Abd-Allah-Ibn-Azíz. He was well known and remarkable for his opposition to the family of Utbi, and had continually expressed a vehement eagerness in attacking, in annoying, counteracting and detesting them. And, as soon as the office of Vizír devolved upon him, he removed Tásh from the charge and Generalship of the army, and gave an order for the appointment and settlement of that dignity upon Abú-Alí-Husain-Simjúr. And since it was evident that the recent weakness and decay, and languor that had taken place in the freshness and vigour of the State was wholly the result of the weak counsels and erroneous system of the Vizérs, and since any rectification of this evil was not to be imagined possible, except by a change and alteration in this system, he therefore sent to Tásh, from His Highness, a royal order, and annulled the right of having his name mentioned in the public prayers, which had been given to that prince by the chiefs and generals of

the Army, and ordained that his surnames should be of the same amount as they had been in the time of Amir-Hájibí, and commanded that he should remove from the governor's place, and depart from the midst of Khurasán, and proceed with his wives and children, and should make his calculation and diminish his province within these two limits, and should exhibit the contentment he formerly exhibited, with his wealth, and emoluments, and titles. And when this royal order reached Tásh he became aware that his ill-wishers had found the means of attacking him, and that the plots of his enemies had arrived at the mark, and that they wished to build the foundation of implacability and to lay the foundation-stone, in order that, in the course of time, their hatred might become effectual and that they might cut short the regard which existed between him and the author of his fortune, and might contrive some method of making His Excellency his enemy, so that his former service and his previous duty might become annulled and disregarded. He therefore summoned the chiefs of the army and the officers of the forces, and said, "You well know my usual conduct with respect to my zealous service, my upright intentions, my single-heartedness, my good counsel, and my acknowledgment of the duty which I owe, for the benefits received from His Majesty, and that, for the purpose of establishing the Government and

settling his kingdom, I, during the period of my command and trust over you, have displayed myself as one established upon the rules of kindness, and that I have never complained of the fulfilment of my duty, for the advantage of the places belonging to my district, both in strengthening them and advancing their prosperity, and I have employed all my thoughts in endeavouring to secure the best result, and I have extended to all the protection of kindness and of favour, in assisting and benefiting them. Now, under present circumstances, when the opinion of His Majesty has become changed with regard to me, and he hath been pleased to confer my employment upon another, there is nothing remaining for me except obedience and submission, therefore every one of you is entirely at liberty to make your own choice with regard to your own affairs. Every one of you who may prefer to continue associated with me will be honoured and generously treated, and his condition will be specially distinguished by good maintenance, rank, protection, and liberty and freedom, as to times and places; and if any of you wish to separate from me he will meet with no opposition or hindrance, on my part." Upon this all requested a month's leave of absence, in order that they might consult with their followers, and give a reply to him with their eyes open, with collected minds, and in the way of duty.

And, at another meeting, the result was this (Verse)

"Love hath settled upon you, where thou art from that place never can I remove or part."

(Verse)

"Whilst I am not in the dust (of the grave) I will never take off my hand from the skirt of thy excellence."

And all agreed upon the following opinion (namely) We can have no choice except to remain associated with and attached unto thee, and we cannot dispense with the obligation of passing both our prosperous and unprosperous days, our cold and warm fortune, in thy society and in thy friendship (Verse)

"If any grief should happen unto us all will be well, if our country grieve not, for, with regard to him who hath prospered us, if the lions and the Arabians attack him (we will defend him)."

And at last they wrote unto His Highness and reminded him of the unshaken duty and the well-managed arrangements of Hisam-Addoulat, and supplicated him that he should protect him, who was the connecting link of friendship and the confluent fountain of their affairs, from being confounded and distressed, and that he should take care that their face should preserve its ornament and protection, by means of the dignity of his pas-

torate and the good consequences of his content-giving rule, and that he should make no change or alteration in his rank and office. Abdulláh-Ibn-Azíz gave no answer, except noisy and quarrelsome words, and a perpetual repetition of asperity and reproach, and deluded them with deceit, pretences, and false promises, like the Siráb which the thirsty traveller accounts to be water, until, when he comes to it, he finds it nothing. And they were aware of his double-dealing and falsehood, and they paid no regard to his letters and his exhortations, and they became more zealously inclined to surround and obey Tásh (Verse)

"Thou art content with thy last wife, even if she be regarded with jealousy, but if she with whom thou art content is reproached thou wilt be friendly to her and not turn thy face from her." [*MS. here extremely doubtful.*]

Account of the Departure of Tásh from Jurján to Bukhárá.

And when Tásh came to Bukhárá, from Jurján, Múwayyad-Addoulat died; and, before that war which has been described broke out, there had arrived intelligence of the death of Azd-Addoulat, and Tásh, from dread of the insults of his enemies, and in order to avoid dispiriting the soldiers, kept this intelligence secret. And the chiefs of the State of Dilám entered into a consultation, respecting the choice of some one out of the great

families of the kingdom, who might be regent of the State. The election fell upon Fakhr-Addoulat, who was of a high rank in the family of Buwayyah and of eminence in the royal household, and distinguished in the counsels of the State, as well as of rank, superiority, and eminent merit. And the Lord Kafi-Ismail-Ibn-Abbad dispatched couriers and wrote letters to him, and, under pretext of condoling with him upon the decease of his brothers, they congratulated him upon the acquisition of his kingdom and its remarkable freedom from all things causing anxiety or blame, and from all the consequences of war. And they nominated his brother, Khusrú-Firúz to the office of lieutenant and viceroy, in order that, during the vacancy of the dignity, the affairs and the comfort of the royal throne might not again receive injury. And Fakhr-Addoulat hastened and turned from Nishapúr to Jurján, in a short time; and the whole body of the troops set forward to meet his stirrup; and they became well settled on the string of obedience and service to him, in true inclination and regard, and he thus returned to the possession of his own kingdom, by the right of justice and of a last will, and the provinces of his brother were restored unto him, by right of inheritance, according to that (which is said in the Kúrán) "He giveth the kingdom unto whomsoever He willeth and He removeth it from whomsoever He willeth,

for He worketh that which He pleaseth." And Abu-Bakr-Kháwarizmí, in that complete Kasidah which he composed, as an elegy upon Muwayyad-Addoulat, and as a poem of condolence and congratulation to Fakhr-Addoulat, thus saith (Verse)

"Thou hast benefited through thy brother, but renown through a brother never prospers.
"Amongst men (fraternal) enmity is not new nor is he exceptional.
"Fortune came to thee like as thou dost see
"That infants can *fight* before they can *request*," &c.

Abu-Alfaraj, his friend, also composed a Kasidah, as an elegy upon Muwayyad-Addoulat, some of the verses found in which are as follows (Verse)

"Oh that before the offering of the victim there could have been redemption!
"Oh that the afflicted could have been glorified by redeeming!
"But our eyes had veiled death,*
"We did not glance at Fate's selection.
"Say, then, to the world, Thou art stripped, clothe thyself
"With thy grief, upon us are the garments of mourning!
"Thou hast set the seal to sorrow.
"Henceforth thy market is cold."

And a messenger was sent by Fakhr-Addoulat to Tásh, with a letter, to this effect: "I, with the assistance of my army and by God's help, have effected, by mild and gentle means, such an

* The idea of his death had not occurred to us.

arrangement that the days of misfortune and the times of distress have passed away, and affairs have become settled and arranged, upon a footing of firmness and stability, and this hereditary kingdom hath become freed from strife and from the wounds of contention." And Tásh wrote a reply and congratulated him upon his success in his objects of pursuit, and upon his meeting with his unshaken dignity, and upon the diminution of the period of misfortune, and upon the arrival of the fortunate days of the State, and upon the arrival of the bride of royalty, and upon his meeting with the object of his wishes. And in the replies to these letters he (moreover) represented the history of his affairs, the craftiness of the envious, the neglect of duties, the favouritism and the ruin which had proceeded from His Highness of Bukhárá, through the calúmnies of enemies, and how their success depended upon the overthrow of prosperity, and how his government had become extravagantly wasteful and unbecoming his august position. Fakhr-Addoulat, in answer to this, wrote a very bulky epistle, and used the most perfect words and the most high-flown language, in setting forth his special affection and the sincerity of his attachment and alliance, and said, Whatsoever God may have given of His bounteous free-will, in kingdoms, and riches, and treasures, and such things, he should consider His Excellency

as a partner in these, and with regard to whatsoever treasure, rank, stores, or army which he supplicated, there would exist no difficulty, and that he must keep to the well-defined road of unity and free intercourse, and would be happily settled upon the ground of stability. But he found it needful, for various powerful considerations, to request that His Excellency should not forget to grant unto us the favours, and the assistance, and the acknowledgment, and the attention which were given in the time of our former highnesses. And he further said, "If I should devote all my life in fulness for this benefit, and in the accomplishment of the duty due to this generosity, and if I should expend my possessions in acts (of gratitude) unto His Excellency, I should notwithstanding regard myself as deficient and wanting." And he treated Abu-Said-Shibi, who had arrived with the letter from His Excellency Fakhr-Addoulat, with the most perfect generosity and respect, and sent, as a fitting troop to accompany him, near a thousand Turkish and Arabian cavalry, by way of assistance. And when they arrived at Nishapúr Abd-Allah-Ibn-Abd-Arrazák, who was one of the officers of the army of Khurasán, joined him, and both of them united in offering friendship and service to Tásh,* and Tásh proceeded towards Nishapúr, and

* *i. e.* (*Hisám-ad-doulat*) *Tash.*

when he came near Abúl-Husain-Simjoúri had proceeded forward and had gone into the city, and had taken up his residence in the castle. When Tásh arrived Abu-Said-Shíbí and all who were eminent in Nishapur joined him, and came down on the western side of the city. And for several days battles took place and the armies joined in fight. And in the end two thousand more cavalry of the army of Dilám arrived, as a reinforcement, men of action, well provided with provisions and arms. And when Abul-Hasan received intelligence of their arrival, and became aware of their strength and magnificence, and became acquainted with their skill and power, in storming difficult passes and taking possession of fortified cities, as well as the good order of their affairs, and the success of their sieges, he came out of the city in the middle of the night, and, under the veil of darkness, took the road of flight. And the army informed Tásh and they pursued upon their rear, and, on account of their heavy accoutrements and baggage, a considerable booty was obtained. And Tásh came to the city and entered at the west side. And Abú-Mansur-Thalabí says, on that event (Verse)

"Tell him of whose eagerness (to take me) I am fearful.

"That sportive (youth) hath hunted for hearts with his temple locks.

"As to his temple locks let one behold them in the evening.

"For truly the heart (or courage) of Ibn-Simjúr becomes highly susceptible, through Tásh."*

Then Tásh dispatched letters from Nishapúr, to His Highness of Bukhárá, and humbly entreated the rectification of his condition and the conferring of forgiveness upon him, and the permission to explain his apologies. And he begged to be allowed to speak, for the purpose of the setting aside his errors, and offering an entreaty for favour and for pardon of all past mistakes. And he said "Our refuge is in God." If we have committed offences unto whom is the way of forgiveness closed? according to this sentiment (Verse)

"Give me surgeons and be to me the blessing of a pardon-giver, and by thy forgiveness unwrap from me the pain of shame. Truly, pardon is a luckless misfortune, yea, contemptible, except when it is developed in the casting down of our faults."

And Abd-Allah-Ibn-Azíz† took the course of neglecting and becoming deaf to these apologies and representations, contained in the volume of these great chronicles.‡ And he much employed artful and entangling language, in his communications

* The MS. of these wild verses appears unsound. They however, imply an ironical allusion to Simjúr's forwardness (compared to a lover's ardour) and subsequent nocturnal retreat.

† Vizér at Bukhárá.

‡ Possibly a satirical allusion to the tediously-lengthened details of these letters from Tásh.

with Núh and his mother, who was regent of the kingdom, and assured the prince thus: "Tásh hath fled from Dilám and you have given him an asylum in a portion of this State; but he is sharpening his teeth to set forward in this direction; and if he goes on in this contemptuous manner and you do not, in good time, command concerning him that which is good and proper, you will assuredly lament for the loss of this kingdom, and you must cut off all wish for retaining these provinces, whilst you are deceived with his false gilding, his studied letters, his boldness, and his deceit." And they said that they ought to transfer the reins of this business from his hand and restrain him from (the power of effecting) any measure, evil or good. Utbi says: "I now remember that I extracted, for the sake of friendship, two verses from Ibn-Almutara (Verse)

"There are two things from which the tears flow (namely) the two eyes; when we hear the departure (of one beloved). There are two things which never perfectly meet with sociality, the want of youth and separation from friends.

Utbi says those verses do not contain the strongest expressions, in regard to the state of affairs and to their applicability to the times, there are two other verses composed in this measure (Verse)

"There are two things which the trainer cannot manage to break in, the mind of women and authority in young men.

For, as to women, they ever incline towards their passions; and as to our brother youth he floats without a rein" (rudder)

Truly, as regards the beauty of these verses there is nothing deficient, and that which he hath said he hath said with the utmost perspicuity and with the perfection of intelligence, and the nicety of judgment, and he is a rule for those who are possessed of acumen, and an excellent judge of the right way of choosing and examining. But it is impossible that the affection afforded to a nurse should be equivalent unto that given to a mother, or that the compassion and favour felt towards a kinsman should equal that felt for a father, or that the attachment to a hireling should resemble that towards a friend, or that a vizír, however distinguished for efficiency, in the rules for governing and guarding a kingdom, could surpass a king, although he be naturally efficient and remarkable for firmness and gravity. And Tásh neglected the affair of Abul-Hasan-Simjúr, and took no further trouble upon the subject of his strife-causing sword, for he waited for His Highness of Bukhárá, in order that that fire might perchance be suppressed by no other means than by separation and by contrivance. And His Excellency (Tásh) gave his utmost assistance and effected a settlement of affairs, and a remedy for those transactions and fiery disputes which had recently occurred, and by every possible means endeavoured to give content-

ment to Núh. Nevertheless the wound which had been inflicted upon hearts was not yet perfectly healed, and the dust (of strife) which had settled upon the border of minds became increased still more and adhered more firmly. And they* watched for an opportunity to depress him and to obtain the mastery over him. And he was occupied in settling his affairs, and in gathering and forming the army. And Abúl-Hasán-Simjúr sent to Karmán and requested an army from the Amír Abúl-Fawáras-Ibn-Azd-Addoulat. And he sent unto him two thousand select cavalry, composed of his Arabs of the Nejd, and Fáik joined him, and so great an army assembled that neither mountains or plains might turn them aside (Verse)

"As to Yemen, that part of it which is exposed to the sun is narrow, but the small part of the sun upon it makes that little most excellent."

And they by common consent set forward to Nishapúr, in order that they might take possession of it again. Tásh, with his army, returned back in front of them, and they put their hand to the sword and they filled the air, as far as the hearing extended, with flame, from the collision of their battleaxes, and they drew an ornamented page upon the preface of the earth, with the blood of warriors (Persian verse)

* *i. e.* Simjúr and his partizans.

"The world, by dint of drawing in the breath, became like a vowel point (or dot). Fate, in hatred, opened her jaws like a pair of compasses. In the battle-field the beak of the Símurgh death became like the foot of the musical partridge."*

And the army of Tásh, on account of its remaining a long time at Nishapúr, was reduced to extremity, from scarcity of provisions and debility, and the want of the necessaries of life, and began to be reduced to fear, and to be contented with the path of cowardice and flight, if that by any means they might cast themselves from that whirlpool of misery upon the shore of safety, and save themselves from the confinement of that distressing condition, into the free plain (of liberty). And Tásh resolved to make one more attack, which should be the seal of the affair, and to make other and successful onsets on his flank. And Abúl-Hasan-Simjur and his son, Abú-Alí, closed foot to foot, and, with firm front and strong determination, exerted themselves in repulsing this charge; and Tásh betook himself to his tents, and the greater part of his army were dispersed, and reduced to difficulty and weakness, and the army of the enemy came upon his rear and gave him one charge, and he was scattered with loss and departed, being put to the rout, and the army of Dilám departed from his alliance, and the people

* Probably *cloven*, that is, men were slain in the battle by several weapons, &c.

of Khurasán came upon them, whilst dispersed, and put many of them to the sword and conducted the remainder in the chain of slavery, and sent them to Bukhárá; and when they came to the presence they brought them to the midst of Bukhárá, with the utmost cruelty and the greatest contempt, and the buffoons of the city came before them, pointing at them and jeering them, and used insulting expressions towards them, and addressed to them derisive jokes, and severe songs and vituperations. Afterwards they imprisoned them in the fortress of Kahandaz, until some perished of cruel treatment and some obtained their freedom; but God knows.

ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL OF TÁSH AT JURJÁN, AND THE APPOINTMENT OF ABÚL-KHAIR-SIMJÚR TO BE GENERAL OVER THE ARMY OF KHURÁSÁN.

Tásh came to Jurján and Fakhr-Addoulat resigned to him the royal palace, as it was adorned with magnificent furniture and numerous vessels, and appurtenances of royalty and beautifully-carved plate, and vases of gold and silver, and utensils for cooking, and wine-cellars, and all other furniture therein. And he* went to Ray and he made a noble present to him† of five thousand dinars, and two thousand packets of one thousand

* *i. e.* Fakr-ad-Doulat. † *i. e.* Tásh.

diráms, and five hundred embroidered throne-robes, with several Arabian horses and mules, with ornamented bridles and breasts, and all things belonging unto them, as arms and coats of mail, and cuirasses and helmets, and surcingles, and shields adorned with gold, and Indian swords, and various kinds of armour enamelled. And he granted unto him all the taxes and revenue of Dihastán, and Abgun, and Astarábád, except a small part, which was to be expended in building fortresses, and in maintaining the Cutwáls and the registrars. And Tásh proceeded to confer presents and marks of generosity upon the regiments of his army, and commanded that unto every one (of his soldiers from) those countries there should be assigned pensions and allowances, until their condition should become better than it was at Khurásán, with regard to abundant harvests and fruitful crops, and increased wealth. And Fakhr-Addoulat sent from Tabaristán successive supplies, and all kinds of fresh gratifications, and, with perfect affection, exhibited the feelings of his heart, by new gifts, as frequent as the twinkling of the eye, and he felt no envy, at any part of his dignity and prosperity. And Sáhib Káfi, through his great intelligence and perfect zeal, became acquainted with the extravagance which had taken place in expenditure and gifts, and in the squandering of treasure which necessarily followed this extreme

generosity of Fakhr-Addoulát, and he made a severe piece of advice, upon this waste and whim of His Highness (Verse)

"Let not the king waste all upon glory: let him decorate glory with the chain of wealth. That arrangement of affairs of which glory is the (only) opulence will ruin him, when his enemies are more warlike and their wealth greater. There is no glory in this world for him who is of scanty wealth, as there is no wealth in this world for him who is of scanty glory."

Fakhr-Addoulat said one day, in reply to this, "The real favours, the sincere kindness, and the continual benefits of Tásh to me are such that if, in return for one of them, I should expend the whole, both of my hereditary and acquired kingdom, even to this garment which I wear, in advancing the happiness of his condition and in promoting his fortune, I should not regret it. In short I can never be sufficiently grateful for one of his generous deeds, and I would not shake off the obligation by which I am bound, on account even of one of his favours." Then he related an account of one of his kindnesses and said, "My brothers wrote letters to Khurasán and requested him to withdraw from me, and, with respect to considerable property which they were bound to send to the Sultán, by way of tribute, they said that they would give an order to him, allowing him to appropriate it to his private use. This property consisted of the valuables of Irák, such as magnifi-

cent robes and famous horses, and other productions and curiosities of those countries and cities. This property then they offered in order to make their court and to convey bribes to him, in order to stop all excuse and render evasion impossible. (But he was not led by covetousness for these desirable objects into treachery.) And when the news of this letter and the truth of these sayings reached me the bright day became dark unto my eyes and all good sleep departed from me, and my hope of life became cut off. There seemed to be no path of purity and no road of escape possible. Therefore, through the thought of this untoward event and the diabolical suggestion of that unmanly conduct, I, for the whole night, was one who sleeplessly watches the stars and is attacked by vexation. My heart was grieved and my eye was mournful, and my mind was intently expecting that my destruction would take place in the morning, and some (calamitous) event occur, when a messenger arrived from the Chamberlain, Tásh, who requested an audience, and came before me, and sat down politely, and offered to conduct me. I hesitated and doubted whether this were hospitality or misfortune, an effect of friendship or dissension. For I made no doubt that the arrow of my brother's deceit had reached the desired mark, and that, in the very interior of my private residence, a great treachery and some hidden evil

deeds were transacting. I commanded to bring my horse and I mounted, in the utmost trepidation, the most uncomfortable anxiety, my finger having scarcely power to hold the reins and my hand having scarcely strength remaining to grasp the whip. When I arrived at his palace he received me with unbounded respect, and treated me with greater honour and regard than usual, and, by his kind familiarity and extreme good-fellowship I became a little more at my ease, and my emotions and perturbations of alarm abated, and that part of my apprehension began to diminish. Then he asked for the letters of my brothers and gave them to me, rejecting them as treacherous, malevolent, and inimical, as scorpion-calumniators, and as infringing the rights of relationship. And he said, 'I wished to have retained these letters and to have kept your noble mind above examining these shameful transactions, and agitating these filthy matters. However I thought it best to bring them forward and to let others know the truth of the matter, and to expose the depth of this corrupting wound, and to draw the veil from the surface of the matter, so as to render it free from all doubt or question, and I considered it more conducive to your repose of heart and tranquillity of mind so to do.' And he then, with hand clenched, made an oath (saying) 'I would not sell one combing of thy hair, nay, I

would not sell one thread from thy comb, for all the revenue of Irák, and, as regards any sums at my command, I would give them to the winds and regard them as carrion, as worthless as a nut-shell and as a date-skin, in comparison with the restoration of thy meanest possession. Nay, I have not yet conferred upon you the tenth part of the honour and the benefits which I have in my mind to give you, on account of my sincere affection and disinterested love. And if I were to spend all my property, even to this ring which I wear upon my finger and to this robe wherewith I am clothed, in the preservation of thy prosperity and in the averting accidents from the area of thy glory, and in vindicating thy hereditary kingdom from those who trouble it, I should not overpay thy fidelity and thy services, and I will never depart from this devotion or from acting upon this resolution, until God, through his confirming power, shall cause you to arrive at the summit of prosperity and place you under the protecting asylum of good fortune, and shall grant settled victory and conquest.' With respect to one, then, who displayed so humane a resolution and who, under circumstances which involved no previous obligations to me, and amidst objects of covetousness, displayed such generous zeal towards my defenceless person, how can I think it right or how can I consider it lawful, in acknowledgment of his actions,

to supersede, or to neglect him, or to pursue, with respect to him, the path of dismissal and indifference. No, by God, and by the holy Kaaba, and by the soul of Rukn-Addoulat, I will never join in forgetting his merit or in belying his protection; therefore I will not, with respect to him, in any way lessen or diminish his rank or allowance, especially since I have obtained sufficient ability and means convenient, and God hath granted to me settled comfort and maintenance enough (Verse)

"'Oh may blessings, the requital of his patronage, increase and grow! like a maiden pure from reproach, bashful, and retired,' &c.

"'For although I should meet with the utmost zeal and the most extreme valour nevertheless he is first in previous excellence and in past generosity. He is upon the step of benefits and I upon the floor of thankfulness. And it cannot be concealed that the upper seat of judgment is superior to the floor of ordinary custom (Verse)

"'O thou who dost confer kindness, thou mayest expect thanks. Yet thanks follow benefits and do not precede them.'"

The whole of the company who were assembled at that place and who listened to that speech admired the eloquence of that harangue and the splendour of that citation, and uttered exclama-

tions of wonder at his great intellect and at his gentle disposition, and at his sincere faithfulness, and at the wideness of the plain of his generosity, and at the loftiness of the summit of his thoughts, and at his benevolent nature. And Sáhib Káfi, after that, greatly promoted the welfare of Tásh, and the preservation of his comforts, and the advancement of his prosperity, and used the utmost exertions to obtain his approval. And Tásh remained, for the space of three years, at Jurján, and all his mind was devoted to the service of Núh-Mansúr, and he felt grieved and anxious at his estrangement from His Excellency, and desired to be forgiven and redeemed from every mark of disobedience and every breach of fidelity. And he conjectured this, that he might, perchance, cease his harsh demeanour and rise up from the pretext of such determinations and blameable conduct, and determine to let down the rope of obedience and approach the side of fidelity. And he sent Abú-Said-Shíbí to Fakr-Addoulat, and requested assistance, in order to return to the Court of Khurasán. And he nominated Asfar-Ibn-Kardawayah and sent two thousand cavalry out of the army of Dilam, to accompany him. And he wrote to Nasr-Ibn-Al-Hasan-Ibn-Firúz, that he should enrol himself amongst the body of those troops, and arrange for their command and government, and that they should proceed to join

His Excellency Tásh, and should pay due and ready obedience unto his orders, and in all things acknowledge their subjection to his commands and to his standard. And he spent much money in equipping his army, and, by means of half of those gifts which had been presented to him from Kurkan, sent supplies to the whole, of treasure, and necessaries, and arms, and presents. And when Abú-Said arrived at Koms, which was then the residence of Nasr, it happened altogether unto him as it happened to Ibn-Al-Hazar, at the banquet of the sons of Tamín.* For Nasr commanded that they should cut asunder with the sword the left and right parts of these forces, and should entirely cut up their limbs and their quarters. And he confined the army in subterraneous caverns and removed all openings which could allow them to breathe, and applied fire, so that all of them perished in the anguish of that suffocation. And as to the auxiliary forces which were with them he took them almost all, but some, who were the gleanings of the people and the remnants of the sword, fled and arrived at Ray. And Fakhr-Addoulat became extremely confused and agitated at the arrival of this news, and the

* It is not known to what circumstance the author here alludes. It refers to some unexpected treachery, for Nasr has been just mentioned as one to whose care the troops had been recommended.

occurrence of this unfortunate event, and set off on his march towards Koms, with a design of revenge and an intention of retribution, and he summoned Tásh from Jurján, in order that, by their joint assistance, they might obtain a victory worthy of that which had been done to them, and in proportion to the events which had occurred. And when they came to Koms, Nasr saw the spectre of death opening his jaws, and the eagle of fate drawing her wing around him and sharpening his claws (against him). Therefore he saw no expedient except in coming to terms, apologizing, and seeking pardon. He made, therefore, Tásh his intercessor, and Fakhr-Addoulat, when he saw this behaviour and submission, took compassion upon his old age, and the mediation of his kindred with respect to him became successful, and he gave up all intention of revenge. And he directed his attention to Khuzistán, and to that quarter whence came the sound of war from his nephew Bahá-Addoulat-'bn-Azd-Addoulat, on account of the uncomfortable differences which had lately fallen out between them. Therefore he proceeded towards Khuzistán with that brave army. And Badr-'bn-Hasanawayah, with an army raised from the people, returned to his service and to his standard, and brought back with him the commonality and all the public officers of Khuzistán. And he sent Firúzan-'bn-Al-Hasán to Basrah, in

order that he might also take possession of Basrah and add it to the number of his auxiliary cities. And when Firuzán passed over the river of Moses* the whole of the population of Basrah rose up to assist the army of Baha-Addoulat, who were stationed in the city. And they broke down the dykes of the reservoirs, so that the whole of the plain was filled with water and the roads became entirely obliterated, and they were caught in the mud (produced by this water) and they found no means of exit. And a great army came from Mousel, in support of the people of Basrah, and when the army of Firuzán beheld their numbers and their bravery they extricated themselves from these whirlpools (fords) and, in a broken and confused manner, they returned unto Fakhr-Addoulat, and complained before him of the extreme suffering of that condition and the misery of those muddy places, and, in conclusion, began to put forth a petition for maintenance and for pay, and for various other advantages. And Fakhr-Addoulat became wearied with their continual application and their numerous questions, and began to condemn their weakness and debility, and want of energy and of resolution, and their imposition upon good nature, and began to regard it as disgraceful and odious to seek for men to do

* The Tigris.

an affair not done. And, following out this thought he began to entertain the design of a truce, and came to Hamadán and from that place set forward to Ráy. This event happened in the year 379, in which year a terrible plague broke out at Jurján, and the greater number of the soldiers of Tásh, and the chief officers and the most eminent of his privy counsellors and scribes perished in that plague, and at the last Tásh became involved in this misfortune, and his life, through that suffering, departed to the other world and thus yielded to the weakness of old age, to the anxiety caused by foreigners, and to his separation from his associates. During the period of his residence at Jurján much oppression took place, from his troops and armies, and much injury was done, by extortions and requisitions, and a commencement was made of oppressive exactions, which debilitated it. And when the news of his death was published all the populace of the city arose, and the mob began to attack his officers and to murder his nobles and his wise men, and to carry forth and plunder his property, wherefore the officers and chiefs of the army, being compelled to repulse them, were unable to fulfil the usual ceremonies of mourning or to attend to the care of his interment.

They succeeded, however, in escaping from the confinement of the city, unto the open space of the

desert, and proceeded to consult upon the choice of some one as his successor, who should hold the chief command, and the unanimous choice of all of them fell upon the sister's son of Tásh, whom they accordingly placed upon the seat of government. And he distributed among them the treasures and the possessions of Tásh, and, through his firmness, obtained such authority that he made all fear him, and all content with him, and to adhere firmly to his service. But a clamorous crowd arose from the city, and their cries of "help! help! to the rescue!" rose to the skies, for the mob of the city stretched forth the hand of violence, with open murmurs, and, forsaking the limits of law, permitted themselves audaciously to break the bond (of restraint) and to tear up the foundations (of propriety) and to lay aside all reverence (for authority). And they set out by the way of Bikarábád, to repress them, and some of these dogs and mob of wolves came in from the city, to fight against them, and when they had thrown their moth into the fire of destruction, and that army turned in from its ambush, many of that mob, coming into collision with the horses, and into distress from the camels, were defeated and retreated to the city, and a great number of these dwarfs and mob perished, and the belly of the wolves was filled with the carcases of the dead. And unto the people there happened, after this

event, a fate such as had never happened to any people since Yazid-'bn-Ahnuklib. And when the affair (of massacre) had arrived at its utmost degree the Imáms, and the learned men, and the devout men, and the worthy men asked pardon and brought forward the glorious Korán, as their intercessor, so that the cry of distress arising from tumult was suppressed, and the soldiers held their hand from slaughter and returned unto their residences and barracks. And they began to reflect upon the consequences of their condition and upon their present lot. And their opinions became changed upon this subject, so that the more select portion of the older officers became inclined to Khurasán, and the royal army and the troops of the country chose the service of Fakhr-Addoulat. And Sáhib-Káfi sent a letter and gave unto them all assurances of attachment and promises of good, and was willing to augment their pay and their rank; and he requested them that some of them should arrange that Abú-Alí should become their Inspector* and should enrol their names on the muster-list, and that he would pay the chief part of their allowances and wages. To this they did not consent, for their love of their homes and their affection to their abodes at Khurasán held back the bridle of their will, and they

* The controller of the army, a kind of censor (M. Kasimirski) muster-master? or commissioner of musters?

went to Nishapúr, and became enrolled in the army of Abúl-Hasán-Símjúr, who was at that time governor of Khurasán, and they made him Lieutenant-General of the army of the country, until an inspector should come. And the Inspector carried their names with great respect to Ray. And when they came to His Highness, Fakhr-Addoulat, he caressed them greatly and appointed two territories as a gift unto them, one (consisting of) the subjects of the parts belonging to Tásh, as a means of gratifying their service and augmenting their body.*

And when the Lord Abú-Alí came to Jurján and beheld the impertinence of the mob, and the exaltation of the common people, consisting of the remainder of the populace who had laid hands on the army of Khurasán, and had become drunk with wickedness, and carried away with folly and iniquity, he occupied himself in attending to that business, and he arrested all of them, and put to death nearly three thousand men of the poor thieves and evil-doers of that mob, and, moreover, put to death every one who, during his whole life, had for one day taken up an iron weapon or had made use of bakers' shovels, or such things, for the purpose of offence. Some, therefore, he fastened upon trees, and some he made a mark to

* MS. here imperfect.

shoot at with arrows, but the body of them he passed over the sword, and thus, by his severity and violence, that affair was settled, and the insurrection of these base creatures and originators of injury and malice came to an end. But God knows what is just.

HISTORY OF THE CONDUCT OF ABÚL-HASÁN-SÍMJÚR, AS GENERAL OF THE ARMY OF KHURASÁN, UNTO THE END OF HIS LIFE AND THE TRANSFERENCE OF THAT OFFICE UNTO HIS SON.

When Tásh, in his flight from Abú Alí and Faik, came to Jurján the Vizír Abd-Allah-'bn-Aziz was extremely importunate with Abúl-Hasan-Simjúr that he would consent to attack him, and, on account of his indifference respecting the right of the Khutbah of the country of Korkan, and on account of his slothfulness in the matter of Tásh, and on account of his permitting his frontier-line to be diminished, he blamed him. But he, in this matter, continued to act as became his old age, and to observe the usual duties of mildness and gravity, so that he let the matter rest, and, upon various pretexts abstained, obtained his end and repulsed these suggestions; for he thought that if he were to lay the foundation and commence any quarrel with the army of Dilám he would not arrive perfectly at the object of his wishes and would not be advancing towards the desired result. And it

might happen that he might become struck with the evil eye, and that the same accident might befall him as befell Tásh at Karkán, and the misfortune of that error and the injury of that affair might afflict all his remaining years, and his ancient kingdom and his well-established province for this cause might become disturbed, and its settlement be called in question.

And, in the year 377, they removed Abd-Alláh-'bn-Aziz from the office of Vizír and banished him to Khwárazam, and gave that dignity to Abú-Ali-Damagání. And he used his utmost exertions to transact his business effectually, and he put a stop to those corruptions which had found admission in some districts of the State. But his strength and authority became diminished by this circumstance. The greater part of the country remained in the grasp of the dependants, and the Vizír was unable to remove them, and the army, at the instigation of a malignant person, became intractable, and the Turks found assistance, and the influence of Vizírs suffered detriment, and, disturbances having arisen, they removed him also, and gave the office of Vizír to Abú-Nasr-Záid. He was a man of great efficiency in business, a man of great good sense and perfect intelligence, well known and distinguished for his great eloquence, and for his skill in applying his mind to affairs, and ennobled amongst the most eminent of his age and the excellent of his time.

But, in a short period, they gave an order for dismissing him also, and restored the chief office to Abú-Alí-Damagání. And, in these days, Abul-Hasán-Ibn-Simjúr went from Nishapúr and proceeded upon a journey of recreation, and took with him one girl out of all the women of his seraglio, and died suddenly whilst amusing himself with her.

And his son Abú-Alí occupied his throne, the chieftainship of the family of Simjúr and the bailiwick and lordship of Khurasán were conferred upon him, on the ground of being heir and on the ground of merit. And all laid their necks before him and unanimously girded up the loins of service and obedience unto him. But, on the part of His Highness of Bukhárá, they nominated Fáik as governor of Herát. And when this news came to Abú-Alí he sent a letter to Fáik, and in this letter alluded to the rights of former friendship and past attachment of regard in various services, and said, "Have the former intercessions made for me, and the zealous pleas offered for me by your father, and the obligations of my own service, imposed such a debt of gratitude upon you that, at the time of his decease, you should thus inflict such a wound upon me from the most distant and unexpected quarters? Or, otherwise, how is it that you have drawn the hand of covetousness over my provinces and my portion? it would rather have become you

to have refrained from this violation of honour and fidelity. And yet, with regard to me, thou hast overlooked the observance of treaties and of former attachment; otherwise this outrage and this attack upon my hereditary kingdom and ancient right would never have occurred, and this scorn and contempt would never have proceeded from you." And, after many words, they came to this agreement, that Herát should belong to Fáik, and Nishapúr and the command of the army to Abú-Alí.

Accordingly both of them set forward to their own country and to their own provinces. And they caused to be dispatched, from His Highness of Bukhárá, the commission and the robe of honour, such as is usually given to the generals in the army. And Abú-Alí imagined that they had sent them for him, but, when they had conveyed them some stages and had arrived at the top of the two roads, they conveyed them towards Herát, whence it became known to Abú-Alí; with respect to Fáik, that their former agreement had been set aside and, particularly it appeared evident that Fáik designed to reap the harvest of these gifts, and it was clear that, if this treachery should reach its mark and this thought be carried on to action, and if he should be at all remiss in opposing this attempt and in maintaining the dignity of his family, his standard would again receive injury

(lit., be pecked at). And lest, by any means, any offence should be committed, to the detriment of his condition and to the troubling himself and his family, he used the utmost diligence in the matter and ceased not to examine into the affair, from beginning to end (Verse)

"Truly the Divine command is before the eyes, but we have gone on casting away from our remembrance the consequences" (of sin).

And when the news came that Fáík had departed from Herát he pursued him and met him between Herát and Búshaikh,* and defeated him completely, with the loss of many killed and wounded, and Fáík fell back in confusion to Merúrúd,† and a body of the army of Abú-Alí went after him, as far as the bridge of Merúrúd. But he was prepared for them and arranged his army to receive them, and he made prisoners of some of the troops and carried them to Bukhárá.

And Abú-Alí went to Merú, and sent some one to His Highness of Bukhárá, with an humble offer of allegiance, and proposed to regard himself as bound to His Highness by the rules of servitude, and to gird himself to his service as one of his devoted attendants, and to strengthen him by means of his kindred and his friends, and he made an earnest request that they should

* Bushaik or Fushanj, near Herát, on the North.

† Merúrúd or Meru-arrúd, now Murghâb, in Khurasán.

confirm his father's office unto himself and should not suffer to pass away those ancient rights of patronage (on the one hand) and of clientship (on the other) which had so constantly existed between the royal house of Sámán and the family of Simjúr, and should not expel him from the list of servants and the body of dependents, and that he should not listen to or receive the reports stirred up by troublesome persons against his fidelity, and that he should not account anything as lawful which might be a cause of abuse and of despair. Núh-'bn-Mansúr listened to his words with favour and satisfaction, and determined that his request should obtain its object, and he confirmed to him the command and gave to him the surname of Imad-Addoulat. Therefore he returned to Nishapúr with the object of his wishes, and by every good method and popular measure occupied himself in arranging and setting in order his affairs, and in regulating his business. And the means of his glory and the degree of his honour became so increased that unto his other surnames they added the name of Amír-Al-Umara-Al-Muwayyad. And (the poet) Abú-Bakr-Khwárazmy says thus, in his eulogy (Verse)

"The eminent keep their thoughts and their breasts behind a veil.

"Dust (of blame, &c.) falls upon them and in the morning it makes them an example.

"Truly in the morning they are in a state of captivity

although at eve they were in a state of greatness," &c., &c. (alluding to the discomfiture of Fáik).

And when his affairs had arrived at a great height of power he took into his service a body of men from the country and the villages of Khurasán, and began to divide his property and his taxes amongst his followers; and when Núh-'bn-Mansúr requested of him that he would set apart some portion of his territory for the supply of the royal Treasury he refused his consent, and gave answer, "This province is to be regarded as a collected whole, without division, and the means of the treasury must not be drowned (overwhelmed) in expenses upon the dissipated, and the whole extent of this province would not suffice for them. Therefore it would be necessary that His Highness should order me some additional allowance, and add another province to those which I already possess, as a means of maintaining hospitality." And thus, during this affair, he vacillated between obedience and disobedience, and exhibited the ill-disposed (mind) behind the curtain of sincerity. *And Abú-Alí began to make arrangements for raising money and stimulating payments, and began to stretch out the hand of oppression, and he reduced the better part of the revenue of Khu-

* Or, he put forward Abú-Ali-Nasaf (as collector) for the purpose of raising money, &c.

rasán to its lowest point, and made demands upon the people for money, whether they could or whether they could not comply with them, until the blood of both the upper and lower classes oozed out. They afterwards presented a paper accusation against the Collector to the Diván, and put him to death with the greatest suffering, exposing him to the torture upon the rack and to the blows of sticks. And a messenger was sent to Harún-'bn-Ilák-Khán, the Turkish Prince, who was appointed to arrange with him plans of agreeable intercourse, and settle a treaty of alliance and hospitality. And they made a secret agreement with him, that they should divide the kingdom of the family of Sámán with him that Bukhárá and Samarkand, and all the country beyond the river Jihún should be his, and that the half part thus divided by the Jihún should be settled upon Abú-Alí, and that both of them should agree upon a mutual alliance and assistance. With this proposal he was dazzled and became more confirmed in his desire to possess the kingdom, and he therefore entertained a design of blockading Bukhárá with a considerable army. Thus it happened according to the saying, "For Muhammád they drew the swords of Muhammád, and struck down with them the chiefs of Muhammád."* Yet Abú-Alí, in

* *i. e.* Co-religionists engaged in civil war.

appearance, still supported the pretensions of Núh, and, in his province, introduced the title of that Prince into the public prayers, and struck money in his name, but, notwithstanding, he began to turn aside towards the path of perfidy and falsehood, and to incline towards the direction of faulty and blameable conduct. And when the beginning of this misfortune became apparent, all the nobles of Máwarannahr became inclined to the sweetness of novelty and change, and expressed their weariness of the long duration of the dynasty of the family of Sámán, and ceased to regard themselves as bound to be attached to those princes. Thus the Amírs rose up in disaffection and employed all their efforts to influence his opinion, and stimulate his determination, that so he might cut off in plunder the borders of that kingdom, and might behold the success of his wish and the attainment of his object. Thus resolved upon his secret business he arrived at the clouds (of ambition). And Núh sent, to encounter him, his Chamberlain Ibikh, with a distinguished army and officers. A severe struggle ensued, so that the brilliancy of day became darkened, and from the darkness of the day the stars emerged from the curtain of calamity, and the field of battle became a well-furnished table for beasts and birds. And Ibikh, who was the pillar of the kingdom and the column of the State, was taken prisoner, with

many of the officers and chiefs of the army. Thus the covetousness of the Khán, for the kingdom of Khurasán and the throne of the family of Sámán became confirmed, and his eagerness to obtain the free enjoyment of his wishes and the complete possession of that province became augmented.

Account of Fáík and his History, after the Events which have been recorded.

Faik, after his defeat by Abú-Alí, retreated to Marurúd and there took up his abode, and occupied himself there in arranging his affairs and in obviating difficulties, and preparing provisions and necessaries for the army. And when his affairs began to arrive at some order and to be settled he set forward towards Bukhárá, without having obtained permission from His Highness, and invited him to enter into consultation with him. And Núh, from that circumstance, conjectured something wrong, and came forth from Bukhárá, and sent out his chief officers of the army, with his special officers of State to fight against him. And they defeated him and they slew and destroyed, in various ways, his officers and chief men; and Fáík, when he came to the bank of the Jihún, found no boat, but escaped from the talons of death by his own skill, and passed over the water, and came unto the side near Balkh; and, after some days, he

arrived at Termad, and wrote a letter to the Khán,* and told the whole story respecting his opposition to and his making war against Nuh. And Nuh sent a royal order to the prince of Jurján, Abu-Al-Hareth-Farigúní, that he should assist in repulsing that enemy. And Abú-Al-Hareth collected together a considerable army and made war against him, and Fáik sent back, to oppose him, Arslán, known by the name of Akhir-Sálár (Lieutenant-General) with five hundred chosen cavalry together with Turkish and Arab soldiers, and they fell like a wolf upon the flock, and they utterly destroyed the army, and took possession of their property, and their arms, and their horses, and returned with ample booty to Balkh.

And, at this conjuncture, Záhir-'bn-Al-Fadhl had taken forcible possession of the coast of Saganyan, from Abu-Al-Muzaffar-Ibn-Ahmad, and, by force of arms, had taken up his abode in his territory. And Abu-Al-Muzaffar, when he had thus been driven out from his land, betook himself to the protection of Fáik, and requested assistance from him, and Fáik felt strongly inclined to grant all that was necessary, considering that his truth and his excellence, and the greatness of his kindred, and the splendour of his rank, and the

* *i. e.* Of the Turks, Ilek 'bn Ilek Khán.

illustrious records of history, relating to his family, were remarkable, and, moreover, that with regard to him, he had been specially connected with the Amírs of Khurasán, by race and by benefits; therefore he sent his army to his service. And Zahir, hearing of the slender resources of Fáík, of the small number of chiefs who were attached to him, and of the deserted state of the whole plain of Balkh, began earnestly to covet the possession of Balkh, and came, with all his forces, into the citadel; and the people of the city came from Balkh, and began to fight against him; and one of the Arab troops knew Zahir, and, by casting a javelin at him, threw him from his elephant, and, coming down, took his head.

And when the army heard the news of this event they were thrown into confusion, and every one of them went to his own province and became entirely dispirited.

And when the affairs of Ibekh* came to such an extreme point of necessity as has been described, and they carried him prisoner to Turkestán, the kingdom of Bukhárá became disordered, and its odious corruption became evident, and the back of the chiefs of the State became broken, and neither regard nor veneration for the throne of that royal house remained. And, in the midst of this confu-

* Ibekh, or Ibekh Hájit, or Hájib, General of the Forces of Núh, King of Bukhárá. Hájib signifies *Chamberlain*.

sion, he began to incline to Fáík and called him to the service of the throne, and to the support of His Highness; and, when he came to Court, His Highness conferred upon him increased gifts and favours, and sent him to Samarkand, with all needful supplies and provisions, in order that he might exert himself in guarding the precious deposit of the State, and in preserving the passes of the kingdom. And when he arrived at these boundaries Baghrakhán* attacked him, and Fáík, being without perseverance or sufficient knowledge of affairs, came to Bukhárá, routed and in confusion, and he left his comrades and the chief officers of the Sultán to the pleasure of the sword, and placed them beneath the dragon's tail (Verse)

"He left his best friends to the enemy, to slaughter them, and saved himself by his good horse and his bridle."

And it seemed very likely to every one that his flight from Samarkand had been determined beforehand, and that he was induced to commit this treachery through his odious disposition and corrupt meanness, and his ingratitude to the author of his prosperity, which was the cause that the vigour of the State was exhausted and this ancient royal house given to the winds. And Núh, hearing the news of this unfortunate affair,

* Baghrakhán is the same personage as Harún-'bn-Ilek-Khán, the Turkish chief mentioned above.

and of this great event, became alarmed and con fused, and deserted his capital, and settled in some retired spot. Truly God is omniscient!

ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL OF BAGHRAKHÁN AT BUKHÁRÁ, AND THE FLIGHT OF RIDHA FROM THAT PLACE, AND HIS RETURN, A SECOND TIME, TO BUKHÁRÁ, AFTER HIS REMOVAL, AND THE MIGRATION OF BAGHRAKHÁN.

Baghrakhán came to Bukhárá and Fáik returned to meet him, and became enrolled in the number of his special officers, and showed himself active in increasing his troops and followers, and vied with him (in activity) and for several years there existed much assured friendship and sincerity between them. And when Bagrakhán became settled upon the throne Fáik requested permission to go to Balkh, in order that he might collect the taxes of those provinces and discover the means of supply for the Treasury, and that he might cause his* name to be inserted in the public prayers, and strike coin in his name, as a sign of his sovereignty over those provinces. And, with this excuse, he procured leave of absence, and came towards Balkh. And Núh, having ascertained his strength, came out, and, passing the Jihún, arrived at Amul-Shatt (*i. e., the banks of the river*). And many of the slaves and servants of the opposite

* His, *i. e.*, Baghrakhán's.

party fell over to him there, and the others became confused and dispirited. And when they received intelligence of his arrival they became glad and joyful, and it seemed to them that fresh life and new happiness would result to them from his residence, and, having separated themselves from the neighbourhood of the army, attached themselves to him, until (at length) the whole of the army concurred, and Núh conferred the office of Vizír upon Abú-Alí-Balami, and committed unto him the administration of his sovereignty in those possessions. But he, in the regulation and the arrangement of this matter, displayed much confusion and want of sense, and was unequal to the task of guiding and ordering this business, at a time when the whole country was in the grasp of the enemy, and a great army had assembled, and he had not the means either of resisting them or coming to an agreement with them. Núh therefore summoned Abd-Allah-Ibn-Azíz from Khwarazm again, and placed him upon the chief seat of office in the kingdom, but, through the renewed rising of the constellations of contention and the commencement of the season of strife, Núh wrote letters to Abu-Ali-Simjúr, at Máwarannahr, and entreated his assistance and the fulfilment of the duty of generosity, and implored his aid, in averting the peril of the jewel of the State. But he, in this matter, completely deceived Núh,

by his lying words and his treacherous ways, and, under pretence of increasing the army and augmenting his forces, he suffered the opportunity to pass away. Then he went from Nishapúr to Sarakhs, and from that place, after a long stay, he went to Merú, to await the arrival of Baghrakhan, and expecting the fulfilment of that stipulation which existed between them, with respect to the division of the kingdom of Núh. And all the officers of Abú-Alí employed their utmost exertions in settling this plan and in accomplishing this thought, and in arranging this proposal, and they appeared to incline to this opinion—that the royal house of Sámán had changed, and that the days of its prosperity and the period of its reign had passed away, and that the prevalence of its decline and the proofs of its weakness appeared at every glance of the eye, and that at every look new dissensions and fresh weaknesses appeared. And the wise have said, of old, "To abet the weak is to weaken yourself."* Since the period of prosperity has passed away and the turn of adversity had arrived, to help and to associate with Núh would be the cause of humiliation and the fruitful origin of misfortune. And when Núh came to Amul Shatt he sent a person to Abú-Alí, and said,

* De Sacy translates this proverb "Le salut du foible est dans le mepris qu'il inspire," but the above version seems to be more in accordance with the context.

"Our expectation hath exceeded all bounds, and the matter hath reached its utmost point, the enemy hath become victorious, and the house hath passed away from our hands. It is time that thou shouldst display some zeal in the duty of preserving it, and in fulfilling the obligations which you owe; and there are no means of preserving our empire, and maintaining the rights of our forefathers and predecessors, except by thy aid and assistance." And out of all the letters which were upon this subject, from His Highness Núh to Abú-Alí, there is one passage which was composed by Abu-Ali-Damaghání, as follows: "Since the State hath great need of support, when it is evident that some persons are designing to disturb the foundations of its buttresses, therefore the State hath recourse to thy power for help, in the name of Heaven." But Abú-Alí, according to his usual vile habits and worthless disposition, persisted in his hardness of heart, and, throwing away all thought of future consequences, cast aside all self-respect and shame, and exhibited nothing but impudence and wickedness, and preferred requests most unusual, and claims most uncommendable, and requested that his titles, as mentioned in the public prayers (Khutbah) should be higher than those of the predecessors of His Highness Núh, and requested that they should introduce the prayer at the beginning of his pecu-

liar titles, between his name and his surname, and that they should describe him as deputy of the Commander of the Faithful, which title is the peculiar designation of the family of Sámán, and is one by which no other of the kings of the earth have been described. And the Prince Núh received all these pretensions with favourable replies, And one of the servants of Núh, a man an Aristotle in mind, had come to Abú-Alí, on a message. He heard this kind of demand, and saw his iniquity and obstinacy in these discussions, and he said, "This King, Núh, is at present so confused by distress, that if thou should'st demand of him that he should acknowledge thee as sovereign he would not care. However after to-day there is to-morrow, the affairs of fortune are ever changing. Do thou, therefore, so be and so speak that the people of the earth may be pleased with thee, and may speak well of thy name." The eyes of those who were present at this interview were filled with tears, at the utterance of this speech and at the severe fortune of the Prince, and their hearts were roasted in the fire of this calamity. But Abú-Alí was still bent upon and carried away by that blindness and folly, and doubtless it was God alone who, without favour from man, satisfactorily settled the affairs of Prince Núh, and rendered his opponents hated and despised, and replaced him upon a settled throne, and in the royal dignity,

and made the envy and malice of his enemies to be the cause of their own humiliation and disgrace. Thus, when anything is difficult, God knows how to set it right.

ACCOUNT OF THE RETURN OF THE PRINCE RIDHA* TO BUKHÁRÁ, AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF BAGHRÁKHÁN FROM THENCE.

Baghrakhan was injured by the air of Bukhárá, although he had a great desire and base longing to injure the ancient lords and the noble family. And on account of the severity of his disease, they knew no means of curing him, except by returning to the air of Turkistán. Wherefore they carried him in a litter to the borders of Turkistán; and the people stretched the hand of vengeance upon the rear of his army, and they killed many of the people. And the road of his retreat was by the territory of the Gozz Turks, and these Gozz tribes went several marches behind him, and killed the stragglers of his army, and plundered their baggage and their provisions. And Baghrakhán, in one of these journeys, resigned his soul. And when this news came to the Prince Núh he determined to re-establish his authority, and the people of Bukhárá made rejoicings at his arrival, and the wise and great men of the city came forth to meet

* Ridha, that is, Núh, of Bukhárá.

his stirrup, and they were as charmed with his fortunate arrival as the day-watchman at the rising of the full moon, or the thirsty traveller at the sight of the pure brook. And the princes of Bukhárá and Samarkand, and their allies, came to settle the Treasury affairs of the Prince Núh, and they placed his commands and his prohibitions upon their usual footing and upon their former authority. And thus all the causes of contention were cut off. And when Abú-Alí-Simjúr saw that the affairs of the kingdom of Núh were in course of settlement, and that the affairs of his own province approached to a blameable condition, and his wishes, through the confused times and through the troubled period, had produced no fruit, since his desire was broken and despised, and that the line of his desire upon the dice of fortune had become crooked (and askew), and, moreover, that the settlements which he held from Baghrakhàn, respecting the completion of the conventions, and the fulfilment of the verbal treaties which had been agreed upon between them, respecting the division of the province of Khurasán and of Máwarannahr, and also the settlement concerning its equal partition between them, had not been carried into effect, (for Baghrakhán, when he took the throne of Bukhárá, inserted the name of Abú-Alí-Simjur in the public prayers in the same list with the other generals of the army, and made

no alteration with respect to him in the usual state of things); then Abú-Alí began to gnaw the fingers of vexation and repentance, and the brilliant light of his flag was destroyed in the darkness of his calamity, and the garden of his enjoyment withered in the cold wind of this event; whereupon he assembled the nobles of the state, and the counsellors of his court; and, in order to obtain their advice, asked them to enter upon the consideration of some remedy of this affair, and some means of escape from this misfortune. They all said, "The clay of which the royal house of Sámán was formed is made up with the water of generosity, and of a kind and forgiving temper; but the dissensions and the depressions of the princes of this family, through the errors of their servants and the blunders of their dependants, have become notorious every day. This is the only way of proceeding, that thou shouldest request this healing plaster of pardon from them, and shouldest request acceptance of thy excuses from their court. For, indeed, in this life-risking whirlpool, there is no possibility of arriving at the shore of safety, except in the boat of the assistance of Núh, and this inundation of disaster will never ássuage, except by means of the fortunate empire of Núh, and it will be necessary to go under his protection, with sword and with shroud,* and to cast yourselves

* *i. e.* Devoting sword and life to his service.

upon his generosity and his pity, and thus to draw out the thorn, which has (unfortunately) lodged and broken in his breast, by the beak of humility and submission; and to remove the dust which unluckily had become attached to the border of the garment of his mind, by blowing the breath of kindness and union; and, since affairs have arrived at this extremity of inefficiency, it will be necessary to deserve approbation by their services, and to take hold of the course of service, and the rules of obedience; since there can be no better remedy for a broken head than the lint, or for sinners than an agreeable refuge; nor will he restrain from you the face of apology, acceptance, and pardon."

Abú-Alí found this discourse to possess a just weight in the scale of good sense, and that it would comprehend the circle of his conveniences. He, therefore, collected together of his various possessions many presents and packets of precious stones, in order that he might send them by the hand of an ambassador who had an oily tongue unto Prince Núh, so that by this trick the perception of his base plan might escape the enlightened mind, and by the softness of craftiness the bird of kindness might raise up his wing, which had been wetted in the mist of dislike. But he again thought of the decreed word, "Resolution is equal to forethought." He therefore tried another expedient, and said, "There is an old warning spoken (by the

wise), 'He that soweth thorns will never obtain grapes therefrom.' If I have sown a piece of ground quite full of the seeds of wrong, how shall I measure it out in autumn full of the harvest of gratitude; and if I plant in my enclosure the young tree of opposition, how can I expect the fruit of concord; since to put a wounded snake into one's bosom, or to taste the poison which is upon the bow, is not the action of a wise man; for the intelligent have said, 'Kings have teeth in their bellies, like the crocodile,' and they are like the sea, which although it be the source of the fountain of life, and although it contain all kinds of jewels and valuable things, nevertheless is sometimes like a whirlpool, which, in the twinkling of an eye, can destroy the world, and carry away mankind; and that 'A king is a sea, in which we may be drowned even when it is at rest over its pearls, and when it swells we should beware.'"

And Fáík also, when he saw that the boat of Núḥ had arrived in safety, and at settled prosperity, lost all firmness of heart and quietness of spirit, and sought some safe refuge from the evil of this storm. At last he determined upon this weak plan, and this crude object, and this excess of impudence, that he should put a bold face upon the affair; and set off towards Bukhárá, in order that he might recover Núḥ to his interest, by means of contention and violence. But to be ob-

structed in our end is odious to all. The Prince Núh sent on before him the best portions of his private guards and chamberlains, and between the two armies various battles and horrible slaughters took place, and many were killed on both sides; and the birds and lions, and eagles and hyænas obtained from those who were slain in this assembly of sorrow, and from those who were found in this meat-distributing place, a merry feast and a table of delicacies. And Fáík, when he escaped with but a small part of his army from the sword of the people of Bukhárá, and had saved himself from the talons of fate, took to flight, and since he knew no refuge except the court of Abú Alí, or any place to fly to, went to Merú; and Abú Alí was rejoiced at his arrival, and considered the contraction of an alliance with him would be an affair of importance, based upon sound judgment, he therefore embraced his offer of help and support, and considered that his presence would enable him to dispense with the favour of Ridha-Núh-Ibn Manshir, he therefore sent Fáík the money which he had prepared for the tribute due to Bukhárá, and there was confirmed between them a complete unity, and a mutual association, and sincere affection, and an agreement to oppose all one-anothers' enemies and adversaries. And they came together to Nishapúr, and occupied themselves in the preparation of arms, and in the arrangement of the means of service in the field, and in organizing

matters for the day of battle. And the Prince Núh when he heard of their agreement to ruin and injure him, and when their combination to do him wrong became apparent, applied all his thoughts to consider by what forbearing skill he might compel these two young colts to become obedient to the burden, and by what power he might catch these two savage crocodiles in the snare of punishment, and by the assistance of what lion he might most completely seize in his claws these two crafty wolves. And after consideration the lot of his election fell upon Nasir-Addin-Sabaktagín,* since he was well known, and of established reputation amongst the nobles of those provinces for his pre-eminence in all good ways, and his firmness in that which is right, and his careful regard for the happiness of the people, and for his support of religion, and his aid given to God. He therefore sent Abú-Nasr-Farsi to him, and signified the evil deeds, and the disgraceful actions of Abú-Alí and Fáík, and requested from his repelling arm, and his expansive benevolence, the remedy for this disease, and the means of mollifying this fury; and offered a request to him respecting the removal of this anxiety, and the taking away of this treachery, and said, "The way of hope from all other quarters of the kingdom, and from all

* Utbi has here conducted his digression upon the affairs of Bukhárá, to the point when Sabaktagín became involved with them, through the application of Núh for his aid.

other resources of the state, hath been stopped up, and there is no probability of meeting with any help, nor any hope of repelling these evils, unless by the powerful force and vigorous bridle of Nasir-Addoulat-Abú-Mansúr, and in the breast of thought there can be entertained no idea respecting the conferring this favour and the accomplishing this service from any other than from him." And Nasúr Addin was refreshed in heart, and his bosom was gladdened that he was entrusted to expedite, and purify, and arrange in this matter of the wounded (state), and was jealously (indignant) on account of this attenuating consumption of the family of Saman, and abhorred the crimes and baseness of Abú Alí, and the meanness and low manners of Fáík. He therefore girded up his loins to transfer the empire from them, and to respond to the demand of the Prince. He speedily marched, and with eagerness to fulfil his duty, and in the ardour of his faithful disposition arrived at Máwaránnahr. The Prince Núh rose up, and went to the borders of Kash, to witness his arrival. Here they met with the greatest friendliness; but before the meeting Nasúr Addín had requested to be excused the trouble of dismounting, and the felicity of kissing the ground of obedience, on account of the weakness of old age and the burden of advanced years, and the Prince Núh for that reason accepted his excuse; but when

the eyes of Nasír Addín fell upon the external appearance of the prince, his veneration for his king and emperor wrested the rein from his hand, and he alighted and kissed the stirrup of Núh. And Núh sent to meet him some agreeable presents, and attracted him by extreme honour and entire respect, and from the meeting of these two great men, and the association of these two kings, joy came to all hearts; and the rose of delight unfolded its flowers amongst high and low, and became so universally diffused that such a state of affairs has never been recorded or described in history. And the prince Núh opened the hand of kindness and generosity, and much gratified himself and his followers with various gifts and dignities; and in the end it appeared how the sincerity of his advances was worthy of his greatness, when during several days he sought his counsel, respecting the injury and damage of those two benefit-beliers, he exhibited perfect confidence, Nasir Addín was delighted, and offered his zealous service, and engaged himself to sincere obedience and allegiance, and requested a delay of some days that he might go to Ghazna, and make arrangements respecting the assembling an army, and the preparation of military necessaries; and with perfect zeal might betake himself to the sacred war against the wicked. The prince consented, and presented him with splendid robes of honour, and

royal gifts and unlimited presents of various kinds of valuable articles, and both of them went to their own abode, and used their utmost industry in settling their affairs, and assembling soldiers, and in arranging arms, and in providing necessaries and horses for the expedition.

And Abú-Alí, when he received information of these things, became confounded and confused, and the sun of his judgment tended towards declension, and the culmination of his star (of good fortune) proceeded towards an eclipse, and his contemptible disposition lost the right road in the brightness of the intellect of the King. And this question was proposed to the council of his officers and favourites, and he endeavoured to increase his fire from the breath of every one, and having considered the means of getting out of the difficulty, the most excellent advice and the most approved opinion of all was this, that he ought to propose friendship and fraternity with Fakhr-Addoulat, and that his love would be an important handle (by which to obtain his objects) and his friendship an efficient supporter of his views. For he thought that it would be expedient to obtain the advantage of his alliance, before any alteration in his fortunes, "so that if (he said) we should happen to find difficulty in retaining the province of Khurasán, we might have in readiness an excellent resource and an eminent place of refuge." And

the volume of their wise counsels was arranged and sealed upon these conditions. And Abú-Alí proceeded according to this plan, and he appointed Abú-Jafar-Zulkarnain for this expedition, and sent for Fakhr-Addoulat, by his hand, some packages full of the fine productions of Khurasán, and of the export goods of Turkistán. And, in like manner, he entered into arrangements with respect to Sahíb-Kafi, and he felt assured that, by his means and his guidance, he should succeed.

And Abu-Jafar brought back the following account, namely: "When I presented these gifts before the Sáhib, and, using the words of Abú-Alí, apologized for them, and when, in my speech, this expression occurred, namely, 'I seem to myself, in bringing the tribute of this trifling amount of capital stock to the presence of the sufficient one of sufficient ones, like one who should bring dates as a present to Hajar;'*—

"He gave this answer: 'Yes, they do bring dates to Hajar, from Medina, by way of blessing, not by reason of need.'" Then Sáhib Kafí, for the purpose of settling the foundations of affection, and establishing the principles of friendship between the two powers, used his utmost exertions, in order that the foundations of sincere regard and prosperity should become established, and that the

* Hajar, a town in Arabia, therefore the native country of dates.

way of intercourse, by means of letters and messages, should become trodden. And this affection and regard was settled.

Now Mamún-Ibn-Muhammad, who was Prince of Jurján, and Abú-Abdullah, King of Khwárizm, at the time of the dissensions at Bukhárá, and during the days of misfortune, had offered to him (Núh) marks of kindness, and had zealously proffered their services, and had assisted him with money and property, and the Prince Núh, at the time when he again attained to the possession of his principality, in order to reward their fidelity, and by way of recompense to them, had settled the city named Nisa upon Mamún, and augmented the territory of Khwárizm, by the city of Abiward, and sent to each a royal letter, together with a sword and sash, with the royal certificate, and each of them sent succours from their respective provinces. And Abú-Alí relinquished Nisa to Mamún; but to the King of Khwarizm he returned an answer, and said: "The city, Abiward, is beloved and specially inscribed amongst my brother's provinces, and, unless some compensation be assigned by the Diván, Abiward shall not be surrendered." And he commanded that some (troops) should expel the King of Khwárizm from his rightful possession; and the King of Khwárizm bore this as a grudge in his heart, until he could find an opportunity of revenge; but the

explication of all these matters shall be commemorated in its proper place, please God.

And, in the midst of all these transactions, the troops of Nasir-Addín-Sabaktagín, having arrived at a lucky moment, came up, with numerous troops, and a brave army, and a complete array, and with every supply, and in the front of his army there were nearly two hundred pairs of elephants, which he had found as plunder in India, all adorned with splendid trappings and incomparable housings, and after them the regiments of troops, and after them the Prince Núh came in from Bukhárá; and, at Jurján, Abú-Al-Hareth-Fareganí, and the Shár,* and other chiefs of the cities, joined him, and Nasir-Addin-Sabaktágín joined him, and the army was all assembled, like locusts or ants innumerable, and as immeasurable as the sand of the desert, and Abú-Alí and Fáik departed from Nishapúr, and came to Herát, in order that they might guard that frontier from the attack of the enemy, and they took the troops of those provinces with them, and the Prince Núh and the Amir Sabaktagin.† . . .

And he said, "The relations of friendship were well established between thee and my father, and

* The peculiar title of the princes of Georgia.

† Several lines are here wanting in the MS. It recommences with a speech of Abú-Ali to Sabaktagín, requesting the intercession of the latter with Núh.

the wise have said, 'the love of fathers should be the alliance of sons,' and when the succession to the Nawwáb authority of Khurasán came to me I proceeded in the path of my father, and in the fulfilment of respect and the performance of the duties of service neglected not the smallest particular. Let, then, these forms and bygone connections so far prevail as to induce thee to use thy exertions for the settlement of this affair, and for the extinction of the materials of strife, and that thou mayest become the mediator of justice and the umpire of compassion between me and the Prince; and if, through my error, any action has been willingly perpetrated which is not becoming or consonant to faithful service, mayest thou ask pardon and allay the fire of anger, and remove the dust of hatred, and I will cease from my perverse conduct with regard to woman, which is the vice to which I have been addicted, and I will earnestly engage myself in doing my duty, and after this how shall I be unable to withdraw from enchantment." The Amir-Sabaktagín accepted this commission, and was content to go about others' contentment, and had several communications with the Prince, both when absent and present, both by personal interviews and by letters brought forward on this subject, until his intercession became successful, and the Prince Núh ceased to retain such hatred. And Nasir-Addin

wrote this good news to Abú-Alí, announcing that his wishes were fulfilled, and that the Prince had issued his pardon, and had passed over all that he had said and done, upon condition that he should pay fifteen packets, each containing one million of dirhems, by way of fine and compensation for the injury which had resulted to the Treasury, and that he should henceforth, in the strictest manner, express and preserve his service to the throne, and the duties of a subject to His Highness, as established during the time of his ancestors, upon a guaranteed basis. And the friends of Abu-Alí began a consultation with one another, upon the subject, and they regarded the dischargé of this ransom to be a great advantage, in comparison with the obtaining peace and the abatement of the fire of strife, and they were all content with this proposal. But the body of the troops, through the heat of youth and the want of experience, and their indifference to the consequences of their conduct, became obstinate, and disregarded this settlement, and they ran to the camp of Nasir-Addin and plundered the soldier who was stationed in front of the yokes of elephants and killed him, with some others whom they found off their guard. And a messenger of Nasir-Addín, when he returned, passed by those troops, who were the advanced guard of Abú-Alí, who used to him words of scoffing and said, "Let your master exert

himself within the palace and there speak his vain words. It is not possible that, whilst we can hold these swords in our hands, we should give up our bodies to such disgrace, or be content with the stigma of this servitude (Verse)

"'As to the house of God (Jerusalem) he shall not take it in battle whilst we can hold a sword.'"

When the news of this event was brought to Násir-Addín he became angry and expressed wonder at the conduct of the army, and sent word to Abú-Alí, to this effect, "Prepare to fight and come to battle, for this quarrel will not be concluded except by the decision of the sword, and this contest cannot be cut off, unless by the meeting of warriors on the battle-field. If thou art beguiled by the queen of thy chess-board—the alliance which thou hast made with Fáík, come to-morrow into the plain, that you may see my elephant playing upon the board of the valiant, and if, through thy forces of horse and foot (pawns and knights) the castle has been burnt, now throw thy horses with us into the arena, that thou mayest witness the horsemanship of skilled masters." Then, having departed from his encampments, he conducted the army to a plain, the widest in his possession, and there he arrayed his forces against him, and arranged his right and left, and placed in front a gigantic body of war-ele-

phants, and he himself, with the Prince Núh and the Amír Mahmúd, stood in the centre; and all their men in the battle inscribed their names in the book of death, and in the contest tooth was lost for tooth (Verse)

"Of all terrors most terrible is (the terror) of death.
"Where neither weakness or excuses can be exerted.
"When blows in anger meet with difficulty in opposing spears, in the congregation of the rebellious."*

And Abú-Alí arranged his army in the proper method and put his regiments in order, and he sent Fáik to the right hand and kept his brother, Abú-Al-Kasim-Simjúr, at his left hand, and he himself took up his position in the centre. And when the two armies engaged Fáik on the right, defeated the enemy on the left, and Abú-Alí-Kásim, on the left, broke through the right, and Sabaktagín was very near losing the whole affair out of his hand, and he became very weak and powerless. However, Dárá-'bn-Shams-Almuáli-Kabús-'bn-Washamger† made a charge from the centre of Abú-Alí's army, and, when he arrived at the middle of the two troops, he drew his shield over his back, and went in front of Prince Núh, and offered his respects, and betook himself to slaughter the army of Abú-Alí. And the army

* The translator doubts the correctness of the MS. of these verses, and can only give an approximate and free version.

† Or Washamgír.

of Abú-Ali, when they saw the treachery of Dárá, became distrustful, and thought that his treachery could not be without common consent, and for this reason they became disheartened. And Násir-Addín, with his cavalry, made a charge, and portions of the earth became convulsed, from the motion of the troops; and the army of Abú-Alí, from their terror at that untoward accident, and their alarm at that onset, betook themselves to flight and was broken up, and none of them found any power of rallying, and Amír-Mahmúd pursued behind them, and put to death every one with whom he came up, or took them prisoners; and these troops threw away so much treasure and valuables, and stores, and armour, that if the tithe of it had been presented (to the Prince Núh) and had been given to him, by way of ransom, their honour would have remained uninjured, nor would they have been scattered unto various provinces of the earth, in the robe of shame and the dress of ruin.

And Abú-Alí retreated to Nishapúr, and there occupied himself in arranging his affairs and in attending to the wounds of his army, and in preparing military stores, in order that, before the army arrived, he might consider the remedy for his defeat, and the means of providing for the object of his wishes. And the Prince Núh and the chiefs of Sabaktagín and Mahmúd halted two

or three days, on account of the heat* which the camels and horses had suffered, and for the purpose of dividing the booty and the treasure; and the Prince Núh gave to the Amír Sabaktagín the surname of Násir-Addín, and honoured his son and heir, Mahmúd, with the surname Saif-Addoulat. And he presented him with the generalship of the troops, which had been the office of Abú-Alí, and he proceeded to Nishapúr, with great splendour and a well-appointed army, and abundants of troops, and a great staff of officers.

And Abul-Fath-Basti says, in describing him, as follows (Verse)

"All affairs are arranged (or collected) by Saif-Addoulat, we have seen them all arranged in proper order. The sons of renown and honour are named and honoured, but none of the renowned and honoured are equal to him."

And they designated him, in the order of words, by the surname of Saif-Addoulat, until God raised him to the pinnacle of greatness, and granted him the kingly office, and (then) he was known and celebrated throughout all the regions of the earth, by the name of Sultán Yamín-Addoulat-wa-Amin-Almuslimah.†

And when Abú-Alí received intelligence of his expected arrival, he set off to Jurján, in the hope

* Or in order to ascertain or compute (the number) of the camels and horses.

† This is evidently an error, it should be *Al Millat.*

of settling the treaty which had been arranged between him and Fakhr-Addoulat, respecting mutual assistance and protection, and support; and he sent one of his privy chamber gentlemen, named Abú-Nasr, on a mission to him, and represented the event which had taken place. And he wrote a letter to Sáhib-Káfi, inviting him to extend the aid which his position enabled him to do, (and in his letter he assured him) that he regarded him as the support of his life, and the pillar of his prosperity, and that he esteemed his previous generosity and favour, as a treasure of precious things. And he said, "The faces of people of intelligence are guiding bridles. Friends ought to come to one's assistance in time of misfortune, and they ought to profit their connections when days of sorrow come. Unto us powerful enemies and valiant foes have appeared, and our inherited abode and ancient rank hath passed from our hands. And where shall we find a comrade like thee whom we may produce as our supreme oracle? or where shall we find one as efficient as thee, who can afford a remedy for our troubles, and become a refuge from our ills? the fame of whose authority and gravity, like the sun, shines forth over every corner and region of the earth; and according to the proverb, 'He that is neighbour to Al-Azad is not far off An-Nújúm,'* it is neces-

* Azad and Nújúm, two Arabian tribes.

sary that you should not object to enter upon some salutary counsels upon our affairs, with his Highness Fakhr-Addoulat, by way of the expression of opinions, so that through thy beneficial energy this grief and unpleasantness may not be over the neck of one's thoughts."

Sáhib-Káfi regarded this opportunity as a perfect gain, and employed the most urgent expressions before Fakhr-Addoulat, and said, "The son of Símjúr is not a bird that falls into the snare every minute, nor is he so straitened for hospitality, that the door of honour and respect should pass from his grasp; and since he has taken refuge in this state, and come to the door of this sovereign, let the princes of the earth keep their eyes upon him, that his proper right of (kindness) may be maintained, and let them provide for the restoration of his rank, and for the extolling his dignity to the utmost, and for enquiring into the means of establishing his name and renown."

Upon this Fakhr-Addoulat commanded that they should appoint him a fixed allowance out of the revenues of the treasury of Jurgán, and that they should give in settled portions to the officers a thousand bags, each containing a thousand royal dirhems, out of the taxes of that province, in order that the expenses of the army should be paid properly. And Abú-Alí and Fáík remained in the same place during the winter, until the spring

began to appear, and the meadows to bloom with flowers, and the season for setting the army in motion arrived.

Now whilst their Highnesses Nasír-Addin-Sabaktagín and Sáif-Addoulat-Mahmúd were at Nishapúr, at the source of events, their opinion respecting the merit of Abdullah-Azír had become changed, and they began to suspect that he was disturbing their relations with Prince Núh, and that he was endeavouring to encroach upon their country and provinces. And the Prince Núh, on account of the awe which he entertained for his Vízír, and his dread of him, and his fear on account of injury which might happen to him from that quarter, removed, and went to the neighbourhood of Túis. And when Saíf-Addoulat became aware of this state of things, he went after him ; and in order to conciliate his Excellency, and to obtain a propitious decree from the Royal Court, and to prove the fidelity of his intentions, he used his utmost endeavours in his professions of friendship and obedience ; and the Prince Núh was much gratified with his arrival, and expressed great affection for him. Thus the immediate pressure of that untoward affair was removed, and Abd-Allah-Ibn-Azíz, dreading this alliance, retired and went to Merú, and the Prince Núh, after this event of the reconciliation of the two powers, and after the occurrence of their sincere friendship, went in the

footsteps of the Vízír as far as Merú, and from thence proceeded to Bukhárá, and established himself upon the throne of his kingdom, with confidence and prosperity. And the two Amirs Nasír-Addin and Saif-Addoulat spread forth at Nishapúr the carpet of justice, and of mercy, and of equity, and entirely abolished the system of innovations, and of blameable novelties, and the rules of tyranny. And all the subjects of the province and the people, were placed by them under the canopy of peace and tranquillity. And the principles of tyranny, and injustice, and violence, and court-favour, which in weak times, and in the reign of the family of Simjúr, had been introduced, were abolished by them throughout the whole country of Khurasán, and such things were entirely removed, so that the confidence of the people revived, and the provinces became well inhabited again; and the caravans of the merchants, and the dealers in merchandize, began to attend to their affairs, and, in the room of misfortune and alarm, found the road of security, and prosperity and abundance appeared plentifully to the view.

And the Amír-Nasír-Addín took it into his head to go for a short time to Herát, and to renew the treaty respecting his stores, and possessions, domestics, and provinces. He proceeded to that district, and Amír-Saif-Addoulat-Mahmúd was

established at Nishapúr upon the throne of government, and in the lieutenancy of the army.

Then Abú-Alí and Fáik wrote a despatch to Fakhr-Addoulat, and represented that he should send supplies from Ray, in order that they might defray their expenses incurred in the maintenance of their officers; and they pointed out that the revenues of Jurján, of which they had obtained possession, for the support of their rank, were insufficient for their dignity. Abu-Nasr, the Chamberlain, wrote a letter, in reply, thus: "I have submitted the writing which arrived to the consideration of Fakhr-Addoulat. He commands me to reply, that the treasuries of kings are like mighty rivers, whose overpowering torrents and abundant waters impress the eyes and astonish men; but a real body (of waters) and great prosperity is denied them. Let them be careless in apportioning them, and they will know that they may be expended by means of many (small) streams, and that their currents may be swallowed up by people of necessity and persons of distress. Although we possess a wealthy province yet an amount equal to double its revenue stands against it, by reason of the support of the army, of various kinds of expenditures and different kinds of defences. If you would relinquish to us your ample resources and the outgoings (caused by) the army of Khurasán we would accept that revenue to put

in order our finance, and you can refer yourselves to your other possessions, whereby you may have strength equal to your circumstances. We have gone to the utmost. If further apology be (needed) on this point, let our apology appear on this ground."

Abú-Alí and Fáík were struck and quite confounded at this reply, and assembled their distinguished officers, and, unfolding the circumstances, consulted them respecting the fit manner of acting in that contingency, and of arranging that affair. Every one gave a varying opinion: some said it would be necessary to take possession of Jurján, for the expenses, and to proclaim the title of the Prince Núh in that province, and for this service to request admission into his presence, and to send an envoy to express obedience and devotion, and to ask aid from his victorious Highness, and to represent that the preceding princes of the royal house of Sámán have been for long ages desirous to obtain these provinces, and for that object have expended immeasurably, and have sent numerous armies, in the hope of recovering this province by the sacrifice of lives and the risking of heads, and with all this they have not attained their desire; but through us this can be attained and be procured, without trouble, vexation, or annoyance; and we know that it is very far from the act of a wise man to give ready money for credit, or to sell

that which is present for that which is non-apparent. Faík drew back his head,* and said, "This is our position, that Sabaktagín hath departed from Nishapúr, and Mahmúd has not the power of resistance. He is a foreigner at Khurasán, and the army of an alien is like a torrent,† which, although it may appear terrible, yet the stream passes away, and from its precipitancy becomes reduced to nothing (Verse)

"'A sword of mist is soon dispersed.'

"I must go to Nishapúr, and expel Mahmúd from that province, and take possession thereof, and so sit down at rest and quietness, awaiting what the mercy of God may bring forth from the curtain of mystery and the day-book of occurrences (Verse)

"'Between the gradual rising of the irrigation and the necessity of bewaring of it,

"'There may be the manumission of a slave, there may be the reparation of the broken.'

"And at this time it is the summer season, and the air of Jurján is infectious and unhealthy, and our army will be injured by the unwholesomeness of that air, and if they should meet with the enemy,

* *i. e.* Dissented.

† Or the army of one who is *isolated, unsupported,* &c.

it might become weak. When the bad air is dispersed and the autumnal season has arrived, Karkán is in our hands."

The majority of the army concurred with this opinion, and the love of home and their affection for their families and abodes prevailed, and they agreed to this resolution. And Abú-Alí was compelled to conform, of necessity, and to concur with their will. And, in the midst of these transactions, news arrived that Sáhib-Káfi, who was the lamp to illuminate the darkness of these matters, and the physician to heal this disease, had drawn near to the Giver of Mercy, and had approached the dominion of death. And Abú-Alí, for that reason, lost his wish to reside at Jurján, since his hope of support depended upon Sáhib-Káfi, who had directed his chief attention to the well-doing and guidance of His Excellency, and had stirred up Fakhr-Addoulat, by his zeal and attention in regulating affairs, and his skill in procuring the accomplishment of his wishes, in the way of retaliation upon his enemies. And when Sáhib-Káfi died, the poets of that time made many verses in his praise. Abu-Mahmúd-Khazin, thus says (Verse)

"Oh Káfi, the Prince! I am not sufficient to commend thee, according to thy due. Even if my power of commending or of vituperating were lengthened I could not express, in detail, each one of the qualities which we weep for in thee. Com-

mendation would be blame for one who looks with moist eye upon the extremity of thy incomparable brilliancy!" &c.

And Abú-Alí went from Jurján, by way of Juín, and sent to Fáik, to meet him, by the way of Isfarain; and they met on the confines of Nishapúr, and directed their course towards Nishapúr. And when Saif-Addoulat received intelligence of this event, he caused messengers to run hastily to his father, and informed him of their arrival: and he came forth from the city with a squadron of troops which had remained with him, and pitched his camp outside the city, in order to observe (the movements) of the enemy's army. And Abú-Alí and Fáik hastened forward, in order that they might engage him before news of their arrival had reached him. But Saif-Addoulat stood up against them with the troops which he had, and offered them battle; and he put numbers to the sword, and cast many under the feet of the elephants, and he very nearly won the victory. However Abú-Alí and Fáik made a circular movement, and divine destiny seconded their wishes. And Saif-Addoulat thought it not fit to make any longer delay, and saw that it would be useful and proper to proceed towards His Highness, his father, trusting that by the magnifying glory and might of his star and happy fortune, victory would in the issue compensate him, and

that in the end victory and prosperity would arrive, to establish his days (in glory) (Verse)

"Surely I know that I alone can slaughter them; I will slaughter them, and the enemy shall not escape martyrdom; I will stop up from them (the road of escape) and the most beloved of them shall be food for ravens, on the day of cutting off the extension of life."

And the light and heavy-armed troops which remained away from Saif-Addoulat, and some yokes of elephants and some of the Indian troops, remained in the power of Abú-Alí. With these he was reinforced, and thus refitted* the breakings which had occurred to him in equipments and baggage. But another fire of tumult blazed forth, and his desire of exalting his condition and happily arranging his affair was restrained. For many of his chief officers and sections of his troops thought it expedient to follow the Amírs in the rear, and, before they could re-assemble their forces or compose their affairs, bring to perfection the disaster which had occurred, and to harass them from the province of Khurasán; but his scant fortune, his weak zeal, and his flattered power made him slothful in listening to these words or following this advice, so that he took up his abode at Nishapúr, and then he applied himself to smooth over his past misfortunes, and betook himself to write letters to Bukhárá, and to seek the favour of the

* Literally *planed*, cut, as in joiner's work.

Prince Núh, and to ask impossibilities, until the torrent of misfortune came over his head, and he was caught in the snare of sorrow; and, in like manner, he sent a letter to the Amír Násir-Addín, and knocked at the door of excuse, and took to display his ingenuous conduct, and perfectly transferred the blame of that proceeding and the crime of that effort from himself to a long-backed pack-ass, and he threw the burden of this error upon Fáik and the other chiefs, and he said, "If the reins of choice had been in my hand, and the other chiefs had not displayed so much zeal in seducing and beguiling the people, I should never have left Jurján and I should never have tampered with the province of Khurasán, and I never should have breathed one breath in opposition to the pleasure of His Highness Násir-Addín, and I never should have put one foot forward in the matter."

In this way did he offer to make amends, and requested terms of accommodation, and employed the most coloured (feigned) proceedings in the way of asking pardon and indulgence, and intreating to be received into confidence. But by these lying excuses and disagreeable words he made the impression respecting himself and his followers more confirmed. And the Amír Násir-Addín sent letters to (all) quarters, and summoned the army back again; and he took with him, as speedily as possible, all the officers who had obtained leave of

absence. And he sent Abu Nasr-Abí-Zaid to Sistan, to summon Khalaf-'bn-Ahmad, and he called Abub-Hareth-Fareghúní from Jurján; and he caused one to run to Prince Núh, in order that he might aid the matter, and expedite the proceedings. And they assembled an army so great that, from the trouble of the thick trees of their standards, a bird could not fly into the field of the atmosphere, and the means of fighting, or of flying into the glens and drinking-places* of the earth were intercepted from the wild beasts and lions (Verse)

"Through their number the loftiest hills were overshadowed, also the most inaccessible peaks, and the most celebrated range of mountains."

Now, after the event at Nishapúr, Fáík went to Tús, and began freely and unreservedly to confer with the Amír Násir-Addín, and having represented the inclination he felt for the service, and the rights of his Highness, he began to let down the thread of obedience and duty. And Nasír-Addín wrote an answer, which flattered his hypocrisy, his falsehood, and his deceit, and he measured out to him some coins (of compliment) in the same measure (Verse)

"Let him praise me and I will praise him. Every one makes sport for his master."†

* Glens and drinking-places, or *dens* and places of concourse; wild beasts assemble at rivers, &c.

† Or, Every one may play the buffoon for his master.

And the petty chieftan of Tús, in like manner, began to decline from Abú-Alí, and took his stand between hypocrisy and sincerity, and began to withdraw his side from his alliance, and to be undecided respecting his acquaintance and association; but Abú-Alí sent Abúl-Kasim, the priest, who was one of his privy counsellors, to them, and warned them of the consequences of dissension, and said, "At the present time there is no remedy against the force and insolence of your enemies, and against the disturbance of the times, and the confusion of all things, except in mutual alliance, and mutual efforts, and mutual support. And above all things, we should never break the chain of friendship, until we have found some means of getting out of present circumstances." And Abú-Kásim, the priest, went and addressed himself to them, and urged upon them alliance and confidence. And he wrote to Abú-Alí thus: "It is necessary that, whatever happens, you should march and join yourselves to them." Upon this Abú-Alí marched to the province of Tús, and Fáík and the Amír joined him, and entered into a sincere and friendly alliance, and they chose a wide plain at Anderah, and halted at that place.

And Abú-Kásim-'bn-Simjúr opposed Abú-Alí, and remained inactive at Nishapúr, on account of the grudge which had arisen between them* on

* Or on account of that which had occurred previously.

account of the slaughter which had occurred when Abú-Alí had taken from him the province of Herát, and had given it to his servant Ilmangú, and Abú-Alí for some time remained heart-broken, on account of the oppression of his brother, and the cessation of his support and power; and he perceived that his power was humiliated and ruined.

And Násir-Addín* made a movement towards overpowering their forces, and conquering their troops, and he came to Túss, and the regions of the earth were agitated by the march of his army (Verse)

"When we travel between the east and the west the wakeful earth is moved and its elements."

And the young men on both sides, and the youths of both parties, were engaged from day to night in battle and combats. They began therefore to consult how to contrive a snare for him, and how to find a remedy for these circumstances. And the Amír of Túss, and several who were eminently judicious, and had experienced the vicissitudes of fortune, said "The following plan is the best; that we should take refuge in the great mountains, and should seek for help in the fortrésses and castles of those provinces. And we will excite the men of Túss against them, that they may

* Sabaktagín, in consequence of the summons of his son Mahmúd.

make night attacks upon the skirt of the army, and plunder their baggage and their horses, and make booty of their heavy baggage. And in this we will consume some time, until they begin to fear, and considerable bodies of their outermost troops are cut off; then we will draw up our ranks against them, with clearsightedness and effectual arrangement; we will engage them, and we will execute the business completely." But the lower order of the soldiers, and the inferior ranks of the people, felt averse to this proposal, and said, "This would be a mark of weakness, and an evidence of insufficient power and strength, and we will not give up our bodies to this imbecility, nor will concur in this humiliation (Verse)

"'A generous man will venerate youth.'"*

And when the hand of the sword of the breeze of morning was drawn from the sheath of the horizon, the men of both armies and the warriors of both countries drew out mutually the sharp sword; and when the engagement came to its height and the flame of war arrived at its utmost point, then, at night, on the left of Abú-Alí, a great dust arose, and the Amir Saif-Addoulat came up with many troops and with innumerable soldiers, on that side, and Abú-Ali remained bold

* *i. e.* Make allowances for, respect their feelings.

but perplexed between those two armies, and considered that it would be a remedy for the difficulty if he took both his wings above his centre,* and charged in one body upon the centre of Nasir-Addin, so that he should not be able to escape from that difficulty, even by a small space. Nasir-Addin repulsed that attack with great steadiness and firmness, and Saif-Addoulat came up, and they attacked the army of Abú-Alí in the middle, and drops of blood flowed upon the field of battle, and the war-elephants seized the horsemen with their trunks, and broke their backs beneath their feet, until countless multitudes and innumerable people perished upon that plain. And Abú-Ali-'bn-Múíz, the Chamberlain, and Yaktegin-Faragáín, and Arslán-Beg, and Abú-Alí-'bn-Nawíshgín, and the army of †Ibn-Abi-Jafar-Addilami were taken prisoners, with several other eminent officers of the army of Abú-Alí, having obtained conditions of surrender, and the rest having acquired some support and protection, through the darkness of the night, gained an opportunity of escape from the disaster of that battle. And Saif Addoulat went after them, and, by means of the cutting arguments of the sword, obtained retribution and

* *i. e.* So as to add his wings to his centre and form one heavy body, whereby to break through the army of Sabaktagín, before the troops of Mahmúd should arrive.

† The prænomen here illegible.

satisfaction from them, and, putting them to death, made a free gift of them to the beasts and birds (Verse)

"So they turned their back to those who were cutting them down. Very soon was their boasted eminence reduced to small particles."

And that day Saíf-Addoulat-Mahmúd exhibited the manifest signs of manliness, and the opening of the gates of bravery and valour, so that the record thereof remains in the volume of time, and in the books of nations; and if Rustaín and Isfandiyar had been witnesses of his deeds, they would have desired to be imitators of his way of handling the sword and the spear, and would have cried out "Wonderful," at the sight of the exploits of his hand and of his arm, and would have clapped their hands when beholding his strength and his heroism.

And Abú-Alí and Fáík went from that route to the fortress Kalát,* and this fortress is a fortress which is joined to the girdle of the sky, and is so lofty that no bird would be able by flight to take refuge in this heavenly eminence, from the vicissitudes of fortune, and so high that the fancy could never reach the sublimity of its threshold.†

* A strong fortress near Tús.

† Four lines of verse upon the height of this fortress omitted.

And the Amír of Túś hospitably entertained them some days, until they became acquainted with the exact state of the army, and the number of those who were living or dead, and the remnant which had escaped in safety from that massacre joined them. And Abú-Alí had consigned to the Amír of Túś some elephants which had been taken at the battle of Nishapúr, and he possessed them. And Abu-Al-'bn-Bagrar and other chieftans, who had been imprisoned by Nasír-Addín, wrote a letter to the Amír and represented as follows: "Nasír-Addín hath admitted us to pay our respects to him, and hath caressed us, and given us some sure hope that he would release us all, on condition that thou wouldst restore unto his service some elephants which are in thy possession." They therefore supplicated that he would return a favourable answer to their request, and by means of this gratification procure their release. And Abú-Alí earnestly exerted himself to offer this gate of reconciliation, and to procure the accomplishment of this request. And he and Fáík marched forward on the road to Abiward, and quickly changed their position from those narrow passes unto the open space of the desert. And the Amír sent those elephants to Nasír-Addin, and for that service requested him to be propitious, and succeeded so well, that by means of so novel a service, and so remarkable an offering, he was favourably

accepted by Nasír-Addín, and his dignity for this reason was confirmed. And Abúl-Fath-Basti, in commemorating this, says thus (Verse)

"Behold what Abú-Ali hath come unto! Thou didst see one who has the heart of Kais. He rebelled against the Sultán, and there hurried against him men who could expel Abú Kabís. He arose in the morning *Tús the wise*, he became *Tús* at noon, and *little Tús** in the evening."

And when Abú-Alí and Fáik arrived at Abiward, Fáik marched away by the way of Sirkhas, without the advice and without the knowledge of Abú-Alí, and Abú-Alí sent, and said "Even if you have become weary of my society I will by no means separate from you, and I will continue my friendship with you, with my usual liberality, zeal, and generosity; so that every measure which takes place may conduce to the concord of both parties, and to the satisfaction of one and the other; and if you think it proper, or regard it as convenient, I will be a follower of your standard, and a comrade of your army; and I will obtain the light of knowledge from your brilliant guidance and direction; and behold! I am proceeding in thy rear." And Fáik halted until Abú-Alí came up to him, and they proceeded to Sirkhas,† and from that time set forward to Meru.

And when Nasír-Addín heard the news of

* Probably alluding to the *petty* chieftain of Tús.

† Or Sirakhs.

them he dismissed the Amír-Saíf-Addoulat to go to Nishapúr, and took upon himself the charge of settling their affairs and healing their differences.* And he went in their track, and they took the way of the desert unto Amil-Shatt,† in the confident expectation that Nasír-Addín, on account of the number of his troops and the superabundance of his army, would not be able to pass over vallies which were without any fruits, and would find no possible means of transporting his troops through a place where neither water or fodder were to be obtained. And when they arrived at Amíl-Shatt they took the method of apology, and of humility, and of supplication, before his Highness Málík-Núh, and Abú-Alí named Abúl-Hazán-Kasír for this journey, and Fáík named the priest Abd-Arrahmán, and both went, and earnestly exerted themselves to avoid the blame, and to obtain the approbation of the prince, and they said, "No amiable person can ever compare any excellence with the peculiar generosity and beneficence of the King; and the King, with respect to the brilliancy of his kindness, imitates God himself, who through the perfection of his greatness, and power, and majesty lets fall the veil of concealment over the faults of his disobedient servants, and with respect to their punishment

* Ironically.

† Amol Shatt, or Amil Shatt, Amol on the river-bank.

deals gently and mildly, until they perceive what is the right way, and become convinced of the hatefulness of their deeds and their actions; and when they enter into the gate of repentance, and religion, and stand on the foot of acknowledgment and confession, He accepts their repentance, and looks upon their deeds and their words with an eye of compassion and forgiveness; and, according to that text (of the Koran), 'He who among you commits folly, and then repents, and does well, will be pardoned, for God is forgiving and merciful.' Let him (the Prince) give unto them the royal sash and diploma of God's forgiveness for all that has passed. And it is not concealed that Abú-Alí and Fáik are two servants of his Highness, and although they may have the stigma of rebellion, and have acted treacherously in belying former favours, yet the enlightened mind of the Prince hath seen their distressed condition, and hath found means fitly to requite, and to punish them, so that they now know the value of the favour of the good-will of his Highness. And old servants and hereditary attendants are like tame pigeons, which, although they may fly into the distant atmosphere, and make the circuit of the world, end their flight by returning to their accustomed home, and place their heads upon their own nests. And thus these men have placed their hope of hopes upon the generosity and the compassion

of his Highness, and through death and the sword have learned caution, and now say, 'Although our offence is great, the generosity of our Prince is greater; and although the field of our apology is narrow, the plain of his Majesty's beneficence and kindness is extensive; so that he will act in this respect according to his extreme generosity and liberal disposition, and will pardon with a munificence (which can only be described in the words of the text), 'There shall be no deficiency or want amongst you now.' (And we trust) that if he will turn away his head from our errors and misdeeds, and turn upon us the head of reconciliation and mercy, that his slaves will, on their part, take hold of the thread of duty again, and their deficiencies being forgiven, will fulfil the usual course of service.'"

When this letter arrived they seized the courier of Fáík, and detained him in a dungeon, and they greatly caressed the messenger of Abú-Alí, and protracted his stay by every fair means; and they commanded that for the present he should proceed to the country about Jurján, and in that place take up his residence, until the illustrious decision, and the settlement of his allowances should be completed. And they wrote a letter to Mamur-Ibn-Mahmúd, and to the governor of Jurján, that he should grant him a generous rank; and should settle upon a firm foundation his needful allow-

ances and payments, until the arrangements should be settled respecting his attendants and troops.

Fáík, upon receiving the news of the rejection of his apology and of the conduct exhibited towards his messenger, was in a rage, and he placed his heart upon this proceeding, namely, that he should pass over the Jihún, and take refuge with Ilik-Khán, and should be protected by the number of his troops and his servants. And he said to Abú-Alí, "The object of that message to thee from Jurján, and of the kindness displayed to you, was to infuse hesitation into the distinguished nature, and to remove the links of our unity and friendship. And if you make but a single glance of your eye upon the deceptions which we have committed in this kingdom, and the crimes which in former days we have excited, it can never be concealed from your discernment that to desire safety, or to seek for pardon, or connivance, is to hammer cold iron, and to cast yourself through the blandishments of art into the snare of ruin. I am convinced that it would be better for thee not to relinquish your connexion with me, and not to bring yourself into a serious contingency, or to turn your head from the strait path of good counsel and firmness, and be thus beguiled by a crafty truce, and incline to the flattery and blandishment of the enemy, (contrary to that verse of the Korán), 'Let not that

which thou seest in the face deceive thee, the real truth lies beneath the ribs.'"

The Lord, however, bound up the sight of the eyes of Abú-Alí, and made his ears deaf and incapable of hearing good counsel and advice, so that he neglected Fáík's proposal of mutual assistance, and determined upon the plan of separating himself from him, and, like a person who causes his own death, threw himself, by his own means, into the trap of misfortune (Verse)

"There are no means whereby a man may remove that event which God appointeth, and there are no means of repelling that which God wills.

"When fortune becomes black to a man whatever he may do he will never escape it."

From that residence, then, they separated from each other, and Fáík passed the Jihún, with a design of gaining Ilik-Khán. Then they sent forward the Chamberlain Yaktuzún,* from Bukhárá, to follow him, and they encountered, near Nasaf,† but each evaded one another, without engaging or attacking. And Fáík met with a most favourable reception from Ilik-Khán, and he was kindly looked upon, receiving honourable rank and distinguished station; and the Khán caressed him with various distinctions and marks of generosity, and was highly satisfied and contented with

* Or Baktuzún. † Nakhshib.

his arrangement of affairs, and his settlement of business.

Thus Abú-Alí lost the right road and remained excluded from the aid of grace, and fate sewed up his eyesight, so that he remained careless with regard to the weighty affairs and the unfortunate businesses (which demanded his attention) and, in escaping from the burning forge of fortune, cast himself into the burning forge of injustice and sorrow. And these verses aptly describe his condition (Verse)

"When God willeth to fulfil his pleasure upon a man, even although he be possessed of good judgment, and acuteness, and clearsightedness, and skill, whereby to transact any affairs which occur to him, yet, when the effects of destiny oppose him, God anoints him with folly and blinds his eyes, and understanding wastes away from his intellect; but, when God hath fully accomplished his will with regard to him, he restoreth to him his understanding, that he may take example from what has happened."

And Abú-Alí, when he had gone a thousand marches, on the road to Jurján, came to Saf, which is a village near Khwarizm, on the western side. Upon his arrival Abu-Abd-Allah, King of Khwarizm, sent messengers, and begged to be excused for his remissness in not dispatching an Istakbál, and promised thus, namely, "To-morrow I will myself personally present my respects, and offer my apology, and will be forward in the fulfilment of my

duty." And when the night came on he sent two thousand cavalry and infantry, that they, coming upon the army whilst encamped, in the darkest hour of the night, might attack them and might clear the face of the earth from his filthiness. And Abú-Alí Khali, who was one of the officers of Abu-Ali-Simjur, tells this story: "At the time when I went with a letter to the King of Khwarizm, before the dispute which took place between them, Abu-Abd-Allah, amongst other good advice which he had sent to Abú-Alí, said, 'Convey to him this verse, which is one of the verses of Ibn-Almúíz, in order that it may be the model of his affairs and the tendency of his actions (Verse)

"'If thou canst manage to obtain an opportunity against thy enemy arrange not thy exertions except thereto. For, if thou dost not quickly occupy that gate, by that gate thy enemy will come to thee, with blood afterwards, and the turn will be to the other way.'

"And Abú-Alí received favourably that advice from him, and accepted the proposition contained in his question, but forgot the time of the descent of misfortune and of the occurrence of distress, and did not consider that we ought not to support ourselves upon a wall whose foundation has been injured, and we ought to avoid the friendship of one who has a scar from a wound given by thee.

"And, through the heavenly decree, these verses

were effaced from his mind, so that he went to the abode of lions and to the haunts of hyænas, in the sleep of carelessness, and relinquished all marks of self-possession and perseverance, so that when the grey streaks of dawn were drawn over the night, a rattling from the sound of fifes and drums fell like an earthquake upon the picket-guards of Abú-Alí, and they seized the outer rampart of the castle, which was his private residence.* And he, with certain of his domestic slaves, came forth to repulse that body of men, and he asked one of the party what was the cause of that violence and onset. And he said, 'The King of Khuwarizm hath given a royal order to capture you. Now if you send a reply, with a friendly submission and mild obedience, he will be the better inclined and you will be able to extinguish the fury which you have lighted up within him, and to put an end to the sorrow which has disappointed your wishes, and then you will be nearer to the hope of safety and to the means of security; but, if not, we shall take you and your companions in the snare of violence, and will drag you disgracefully before the King of Khwarizm.' Abú-Alí, in the extremity of his distress, drew the blanket of this disgrace over his head, and became obedient to this decision and submitted. And one of the captains and generals

* Literally his sleeping apartment.

of that troop took him upon the crupper, and conveyed him into the presence of the King of Khwarizm, on the morning of Sunday, the first day of the full moon, in the month of Ramadhan, in the year 386. And the King commanded that he should be imprisoned in one of his fortresses, and he seized the chief men of his army, and the most eminent of his followers, and put them all in chains and placed fetters upon them, and sent a crier into the city, to proclaim thus, 'As to every one of the followers of Abú-Alí abiding in that place we have given you permission to shed their blood, and we command you not to leave one alive.' Thus, as if they were victims and devoted sacrifices, they killed them separately from each other, like the letters of the alphabet, but some became dispersed, like fugitives, upon the hills and the plains and the mountains, and the Chamberlain Ilmangú escaped, with certain others, and came to the country of Jurján. And when Mamún-Mahmúd, Viceroy of Jurján, became aware of this state of things the fire of jealousy struck a spark in his mind, and confusion and vacillation of purpose obtained the mastery over him. But he assembled the regiments of the army and the battalions of his troops, and with great joy sent them, as well as a body of the residue of the servants of Abú-Alí, who had arranged themselves under the bridle of the obedience of Ilmangú, to the frontiers

of Khwárismsháh, in order that they might be like a necklace around the city of Kát, which is the jewel* of Khwárismsháh, and enclose the army as it were in a snare, on every side. And they cut off the rear, and the soldiers and the followers of the King of Khwarizm, with the sword of punishment, and they killed some and compelled the others to disperse; and they took the King of Khwarizm prisoner, and they put the fetters which were upon the foot of Abú-Alí upon his heels, and, in a twinkling of an eye, the condition of these two individuals became mutually changed, the Amír became prisoner and the prisoner became Amír, according to the text, 'With God it is easy.'

"And they conveyed Abú-Alí with great respect and veneration to Jurján, and they placed the King of Khwarizm, arrayed in the dress of humiliation and in the robe of misfortune, upon a horse, and proceeded to Jurján, and Mamún set forth to meet Abú-Alí, and with great honour and veneration, and every mark of respect he came from Bost, and they offered to him magnificent gifts and much honour, and many presents, so that his condition and that of the remnant of his people became secure, and all that is unpleasant was withdrawn. And they made for him an entertain-

* Capital.

ment and a feast, such as was not usual in that or any other age; and they produced wine, and by wine all the causes of sorrow, and the effects of strife, were removed. And when Mamún arrived, and began to exhibit friendship and attachment by the service of the knee, and when some time had elapsed,* and the strength of the wine made some impression, they introduced the King of Khwarizm, upon the back of a slave, and addressed some words to him, and began to blame him extremely; he did not answer a word, but held down his head in confusion, and at last they cut off his head in the midst of the assembly, with one stroke of the scimitar, and made his white head, together with all his attendants, deeply black. Thus was accomplished the text, 'God doeth all that he willeth and executeth all that he designeth.'

"And Khwarazm was quietly yielded up to Mamún, and was added to the roll-account of his divan, and annexed to his other provinces and countries. And he began to open the gate of intercession on behalf of Abú-Alí, with His Highness of Bukhárá, and earnestly requested the acceptance of his repentance and conversion, and his relinquishment of his former bad conduct.

"And the Prince Núh, in order fully to accomplish his wish, and to fulfil his object, and to for-

* Or when some rounds of wine had passed.

ward his supplication to heaven, issued a royal letter, similar to the volume of prayers addressed to the Supreme Court (of Heaven). And he summoned Abú-Alí before him, and painted the secret determinations of the tablet of his mind, with various kinds of deceitful assurances of security, and made the volume of his brain a ground for imposing the colours of deceit and fiction, until like the moth he became destroyed by approaching the fire, and laid his face on the bed of his own ruin, and the wonderful text, 'In the going forth to battle of those whose slaughter is written, even upon their couch,' became accomplished in his affairs; for when he arrived at Bukhárá, the Vízír Abdallah-'bn-Azíz, and the various ranks of his chief officers and chamberlains came forth to meet him, with the usual congratulations, and when he arrived at the court before the palace, he descended and kissed the ground, the chief officers being behind him, and through conscious shame, and the knowledge that he had been ungrateful for the favours he had received, he held down his head; and Ilmangú, and the other generals, and his brothers and chiefs, brought him down and conveyed him to pay his respects to the throne; and the King* ordered that they should take them all, and bind them in chains as prisoners, and should lay

* Or Amír—the sovereign of Bukhárá still prefers the title of Amír to that of King."—BURNE'S *Travels in Bukhárá.*

the hand of plunder and rapine upon his followers and servants; and they plundered all their baggage, and their arms, and their cattle. And in this way was the volume of the life of Abú-Alí finally sealed, and his royal ambition, which had attempted to fly into the atmosphere of greatness, fell into the snare of misfortune and disgrace, and his wild-horse disposition, which had twisted out its neck from the collar of good sense, became bound by the skilfulness of the wise; and the tiger of pride who had challenged the lion of the sky, was taken prisoner by the hand of the fox of deceit, and by the fraud of fortune, and the eagle of the standard of his prosperity, which had boasted itself with the celestial eagle in the highest zenith, became turned through grief at the day of reverses towards the Nadir of misfortune, 'But God is merciful who hath spoken, and his word is truly most excellent' (Verse).

"'If man be not content with that which God enables him to possess, and if he does not come to the command which is shown him; if he wonders at wonderful (great) things and seeks advantage therefrom, and pride folds around him, and he seeks benefit thereby: then it solicits him, and his conversation becomes evil; then he may laugh a day, but he will weep a year.'

"And at this time Naṣír-Addín was posted at Merú, and when the news of that which had befallen Abú-Alí came to him he went to Balk, and a letter came to him from the Prince Núh, telling

him that 'Ilek-khan had come upon the frontiers of his territory, and designed to conquer it; and he had pressed the collectors of the revenue to give up to him the revenues received. It would therefore be consonant with thy kindness and virtue that thou shouldest bring to perfection that good conduct which thou hast hitherto displayed, and that thou shouldest embroider with a border of pearls that robe of zeal which thou hast so firmly held in arranging the affairs of our province, by fulfilling this enterprise; and that thou shouldest once more display thy army in repulsing this khán; and that by the hand of thy good counsel and kindness thou shouldest roll back this ball of anxiety.'

"(Hereupon) Nasír-Addín assembled his chief officers, and the experienced and ingenious men of his Court, and requested them to explain whether this proposal was wrong, or honourable, or right; but upon this point their notions were different, and their thoughts were various. He therefore set them all on one side, and took counsel from God's blessing alone, and the rain of his jealousy rushed down, and the force of veneration and regard became excited within him, and he demanded that the affair whose foot by reason of weakness had stumbled should stand firmly, and that the building which had been erected for the support of the kingdom (and which had become diminished by negligence) should be restored.

"And he summoned the secretary, and he dispatched a royal order for collecting an army from all quarters of the provinces of Khurasan and Ghuzna,* and Zabulistan, and commanded them to march forth and set forward. And he marched to the villages which are called the *private villages*, between Kash and Nasaf, in order that the armies of Jurján, and Khatal, and Saganyan, and other parts might join him; and Saif-Addoulat-Mahmúd proceeded from Nishapúr with an army arrayed in order and a large number of attendants.

"And when Ilek received information of their number he sent to Nasír-Addín several of his senators and eminent officers, and gave them a letter which they were to convey, and they said, 'Ilek-Khan says thus—between us there ought to be a brotherhood for the faith, and since our days and our hours pass away, they should be occupied in the sacred warfare against those infidel Turks and Hindús, and in illustrating the rights of the faith, and in procuring victory to religion, and in prostrating the idolators and the malicious, and in displaying our hatred by war with the wicked and the evil doers. Now Núh hath seated himself in the midst of a peaceful state, and is squandering

* Is it probable that the word *Ghazna* may have been derived from the ancient *Gabaza*, the *b* passing into *v* and *w*, and then dropping, and the affix *na* being added, *e. g.*, *Gabaza*, *Gawaza*, *Gaza*, *Ghazna*?

the revenues of Khurasán upon his amusements and dissipations; and gives not any protection to Islám, nor any preservation or defence to the frontiers, it would therefore be more convenient that we should make this country free from him, and that we should convert the sources of wealth to the service of the faith and the aid of Islám, and its supremacy; and that we should turn aside (divert to other objects) those firm ranks (of yours) which have been arrayed to attack our troops, and that we should enter into a treaty for the mutual support of each other, and that we should found a bulwark against our adversaries. And to bring our followers into serious contingencies, the hardship of which results to us, and the advantage to others, is far removed from the judgment of good sense, and the high-road of justice. And I myself will never free myself from the obligations of religion, since during my whole life I have drawn the sword in the sacred warfare, and in the countries of the infidels have on this path sought to reckon up renown. Let me draw it before the face of Islám, for safety and fortune in the other world are due only to the cutting off of iniquity, and the rejection of evil, for therein the indulgent Verse will be fulfilled: 'Though thou hast extended thy hand upon me, in order to kill me; I will not extend my hand against thee to kill thee; since I fear God, the ruler of both worlds.'

"Nasír-Addín made answer as follows, Prince Núh has a great kingdom, and his ancestors have always possessed established rights over the Mahometan people. And the Princes of Khurasán and of the neighbouring provinces have ever been subject to those ancient Lords, and to that noble family. And when his allies and his servants rebelled against him, and betook themselves to the way of perverseness, he relied upon my support and depended upon my assistance, and I gave my time to the service and to the protection of his government, and to the strengthening the frontiers of his province. And I became firmly attached to him, and if he had wished that my life, and fortune, and army should have been thrown away to the winds, for the purpose of protecting his safety, and strengthening his kingdom, and assisting his friends, and appeasing his enemies, I should not have declined the fulfilment of his views. And I never gave place unto the Kings of his province, but entirely according to the rules of the Divine law, and according to the directions of sacred decrees, my mind is of necessity devoted to his service in repulsing his ill-wishers and enemies. And to repulse also thy rebellion and disobedience from the area of his kingdom, and from the circumference of his possessions, my pledged mind regards as a duty, according to the declaration of the glorious Koran, "If one of the two rebel against the other

then fight ye him who rebels until he die, according to God's word."'

"When Ilek-Khan heard this answer he began to make preparation for the affair, and he sent heralds to all parts of the provinces, and to all the Turkish tribes, and collected an army so great that on account of its number neither the mountains or the plains could be warmed by the sun, so as to produce fruit, and the expanse of the earth became narrow, through their greatness and their bulk (Verse)

"'The torrent displaced the marble stones in the halls.

"'One sees them prostrating themselves humbly at your feet.'

"And Nasír-Addín caused swift couriers to hasten unto Prince Núh, and said, 'It is necessary (for you) to assemble the troops, and to march on the road of celerity, in order to stand up firmly, in answer to the disaffected, which will cause a double advantage to the standard of his Highness; one, that through the noble presence, strength of heart, and alacrity in movement, and avidity to resist, may be increased unto the nobles of the state; and, the second, that through the princely splendour and royal magnificence, and the good fortune of the happy umbrella, confusion and weakness may be caused unto the enemy.'

"The Prince Núh consulted the Vizir Abd-Allah-'bn-Azíz, and since, on account of his

memory of past events, this Vizir was suspicious and timid, he said to the King, 'Nasír-Addín possesses an innumerable army, with a staff, arms, abundant splendour, perfect decorations, a company of fine men, and a concourse of lieutenants, whilst his Highness has no suitable equipment. It would be a perfect misery to be in the society or the neighbourhood of one, who in imposing appearance, and in number, so royally outstrips, both in quantity and quality, the Prince. The way is this: Let a number of the Princes and Lords, and distinguished chiefs of the Court, and also a number of the common soldiers, attach themselves to his service, and let his Highness give orders that they all should become obedient followers of his standard; and let the Prince employ apologies, and use the means of making excuses accepted, and ask pardon of their Highnesses.'* Thus did the Vizir exercise all his judgment in managing and dealing with his master. The Prince Núh was purchased by his cajolery, and became cheated by his hypocrisy and enchantments, and he accordingly wrote a letter to Nasír-Addín, and sent the army for his service. Nasír-Addín was satisfied that the cause of this refusal and opposition was the treachery and the powerful influence, and management of the Vizir, and his object and design was to the following effect: that the exertions which Násir-Addín had

* *i. e.* Sabaktagín and his son Mahmúd.

made in collecting an army, and in completing their equipment, and arranging their march, and promoting their honour, might be wasted, he provided therefore Saif-Addoulat-Mahmúd with twenty thousand cavalry, and sent him to Bukhárá, in order that he might bring Núh to co-operate in his measures, whether willing or unwilling, and subject him to his own will. And he nominated Abú-Nasr-'bn-Abi-Zaid to be Vizir, and he sent an army with him to Bukhárá.* And Abd-Allah-Azíz when he received intelligence of these affairs felt that the world had become unpropitious to him, and sought some place to which he might escape, and took refuge in flight, and remained in concealment. And Abu-Nasr-'bn-Abi-Zaid came to his Highness, and the Prince Núh, in deference to the judgment of Nasír-Addín greatly honoured him, and confirmed the appointment of Vizir to him; and he displayed both efficiency and skill in the arrangement of those affairs, and added splendour to the office of Vizir, and entered upon his office with firmness, and succeeded in the best manner in repairing and settling those evils which had emerged under the administration of 'bn-Azíz. And Abul-Fath-Basti in describing this event says as follows (Verse)

* This proceeding of Sabaktagín virtually deposed Núh and ultimately secured the throne of Bukhárá to the family of Ghazna.

"'I could have sacrificed myself for the venerable Abú-Nasír.

"'He who, in giving joy to all, dispersed the darkness of sorrow.

"'The sharpness of his pen was never blunted.

"'Although, in war, the sword blunts,

"'He could be concise but not bare;

"'He could be sublime but not wearying,' &c.

"And in like manner he wrote these lines at the time when the office of Vizir was confirmed to him (Verse)

"'Carry out my word (I say) to every one who seeks for patronage,

"'And to every one who hopes not to fail in his object,

"'Approach the glorious venerable Shaikh,

"'The Vizir of Vizirs, Ahmad-'bn-Muhammad,' &c.

"And Nasír-Addín wrote a detailed account to Prince Núh, and made him believe the certainty of the deceitfulness of 'bn-Azíz, and his inclination to the party of Abú-Alí, and his declension from their alliance and from the treaty of mutual assistance, and requested that he would deliver him again into his hands. And this request met with a favourable reply, and before the arrival of Saif-Addoulat he gave up 'bn-Azíz, and he sent Ilmangú, Chamberlain of Abú-Alí to him, and he sent 'bn-Azíz to the castle of Jardin, and detained him in prison, in a place the horror of which if he beheld even in a dream, life would have become wretched, and the world to his eyes dark and miserable.

"And, in the midst of these events, Ilek-Khan

arrived, with the tribes and cavalry of Turkistán, together with his followers, over against Mawaral-nahar, and sent a messenger to Nasír-Addín, and proposed to him words of peace and the offer of a truce; and he, on account of the inertness and indecision of Núh, gave in to peace. And a convention was concluded between them, to the effect that Kútúm should be the actual frontier and repelling boundary of the two kingdoms, and that neither power should seek to augment his territory beyond that settled point, and neither should oppose this condition or infringe this treaty.

"And, with respect to the city of Samarkand, they, through the intercession of Ilek-Khan, and in order to supply the claims of his old service, confirmed it to Fáík. And, by way of confirmation of this, he received a written document, witnessed by the Imáms and senators of Mawaral-nahar.

"And the two (princes) turned their face from each other, and each went unto his own province, and Nasír-Addín* came unto Balkh, and Saif-Addoulat† to Nishapúr, and the Prince Núh became happily freed from the contentions of the army of the Turks, and from the anxiety of heart caused by them.

"And Abu-Nasr-'bn-Abí-Zaid became occupied

* Sabaktagín. † Mahmúd.

in the arrangement of the affairs of the Vizárat, and, on account of the deliverance and freedom of the provinces, and the return of the sources of revenue, and the (change in the former) weakness and ruined state of the revenue collections, applied himself to strengthen and to confirm and settle the means of tribute. And his time passed away in expediencies and contrivances, and he washed away blood with blood.* And when fifty months had elapsed from the time of his investiture with the office of Vizir certain of his young guards laid hands upon him and killed him. And Prince Núh was extremely confounded and disheartened at this event, and, on account of the (consequent) ill-will of Nasír-Addín, and the probability that he might be suspected of this assassination, and that the imputation of being gratified with this deed might fall upon him. He sought some means of escape, and displayed every mark of sympathy and sorrow, and came forth from the royal palace, and offered prayers for his soul, and arrested those young men, and put them all to death with the utmost severity. And amongst various poems in commemoration of this Vizir that by Abú-Nasr says thus (Verse)

"'The hearts of men are sick with grief, and the soul of glory and piety is afflicted with disease.

"'Why does the world grieve for thee?

* Repaired exaction with exaction.

"But that by losing thee thou hast left the world an orphan.'"

ACCOUNT OF ABUL-KASIM SIMJÚR, BROTHER OF ABÚ-ALÍ, AND HIS CIRCUMSTANCES, AFTER HIS SECESSION FROM HIS BROTHER.

Abul-Kasim, after his separation from Abú-Alí, remained retired in a corner, until the flag of Nasír-Addín reached Khurasán. Then he betook himself to his service and requested to be allowed the happiness of following his standard. His proposal met with the most favourable reception possible from Nasír-Addín, and he fully supplied him with those marks of generosity and of respect which were due to his efficiency. And he wrote a despatch to the Prince, and enlarged upon his worth, and requested for him the gift of the province of Kohistan, which had been an ancient part of the territories of the family of Simjúr. And the Prince fully complied with this request, and he sent to him an ornamented royal dispatch, containing the grant of the province of Kohistan, adding various honourable titles and valuable dresses of honour, and he accepted his services and his obedience with an eye of favour and with expressions of praise. And he took up his residence in his province with comfort of mind and quietness of heart, until the time when Nasír-Addín called upon him to repress the assemblage

and to humble the numbers, and to conquer the pretensions and the excesses of the enemies of the State; but he, through suspicion, and fear, and alarm at consequences, and on account of his connexion, as a kinsman, with the affairs of his brother, excused himself, and sought for pretexts for holding back, and exhibited repugnance from complying with that request. But, although he knew that an opposition to the judgment and a hesitation in coalescing with the majority would be attended with a noxious issue and an evil result, he engaged with the rebels, and, because he found the plain of Khurasán empty, he proceeded to Nishapúr. Here Abú-Nasr-'bn-Mahmúd, the Chamberlain, joined him, and both of them together betook themselves to crimes and malice, and to seek for money, and to annoy the tax-collectors, and to knead the provinces (in exactions), and to torment the subjects. And when Nasír-Addín received intelligence of these proceedings he wrote to Saif-Addoulat that he should set forward to Nishapúr, and he sent his brother with suitable forces to his assistance, in order that they might examine into the state of affairs, and, before their wickedness became of serious consequence, and before the fire which they lighted should burst into a flame, might effectually put a stop to that cause of anxiety. He was not content with setting them in motion and sending them, but he himself

marched forth from Balkh and went in their rear. Saif-Addoulat dispatched Begrajak-Beg* to run after them, and Abul-Kasim, from dread of those forces, and alarm at that army, and fear at those two warriors, drew over his back the shield of flight, and took the road of retreat, and came to the confines of Jurján. And Saif-Addoulat, having completely recovered himself from this difficulty, respecting Abul-Kasim and his companion, and having enabled Khurasán to become quite free from the effects of their malice, came with Begrajak to the Court of Nasír-Addín, and they devoted themselves anew to his service.

And at the time of the stay of Nasír-Addín at Balkh there arrived messengers, on the part of Fakhr-Addoulat, who thus entered upon the commencement of writing correspondence, and sought a favourable reception, by means of many gifts and presents, and various kinds of the commodities of Irák, and exhibited an earnest zeal for affection, sincerity, and kindness. And the Amír Nasír-Addín, in order to requite these benefits, doubly performed various acts of kindness, and sent Abd-Allah, the scribe, on a journey to Fakhr-Addoulat, and conveyed unto him large packages of the valuable goods of Khurasán, with six elephants of a perfect shape. But some intimated unto Fakhr-

* Brother of Sabaktagín.

Addoulat, by way of exciting his suspicion, that Abd-Allah, the scribe, was occupied in the Court in spying into affairs and in making himself acquainted with proceedings, and in stirring up strife with the chiefs of the army, and he thus incurred an unfavourable opinion, and he wrote an uncivil reply to Nasír-Addín, and said, "A messenger ought to be the interpreter of thy mind and of thy royal Court, but the messenger whom thou has sent hither appears to be a speaker of hypocrisy and an agent in discord, and, just like a serpent, he has shown himself to be a most conspicuous perpetrator of malice, and his craftiness in drinking up benefits, and his readiness both to speak and to act wickedness in a corner, hath become notorious in the palace." And these words were undoubtedly written in reference to his disposition, namely, "He is one who wishes not to recognize that a royal throne is not maintained in the secrecies of earth, but by using force against force, and power against power."

And Násir-Addín was vexed with these words, and the novelty of this state of affairs began to fade, and the foundations of that affection which they had began to rear up became broken.

But, afterwards there arrived another messenger, on the part of Fakhr-Addoulat who brought certain writings, containing propositions for the commencement of friendship, and for the extension

of the principles of concord, saying thus: "The Prince Núh, with regard to us, holds generously open the gates of regard, and the ways of bounty and he exhibits great zeal for an alliance, and for ties of affinity with his Highness. And we desire that the arrangement of this friendship, and the settlement of this alliance may be effected with the concurrence and consent of Násir-Addín, and that on both sides the paths of friendship and the high-road of deliverance from the vicissitudes of time and confusion of change may exist, since on our part we should regret nothing which we could do that might be possible and effectual for the preservation of the welfare and for the settlement of the prosperity of his Highness. And on account of the clear intellect, and the solid understanding, and the pure mind, and the unbounded generosity of Násir-Addín we feel confident that the families may become one, and the way of intercourse may be placed on unity, and that both our faults and our merits may be treated with sincere love and true affection, in order that we may become fixed and settled in friendship, and that the foundations of kindred and affection may cohere in duty and right." And Násir-Addín heard these excellent professions with pleasure, and drew the mirror of sincerity over the face of the petitioner; and in the weakness of his sincerity he returned this regard and kindness doubly, and their relations, fixed

upon the foundation of the building of regard, and upon the well-arranged pillars of kindred, became free from and divested of doubt and offence.

And when Abúl-Kasim-Ibn-Simjur, in his distress, fled to the compassion of Fakhr-Addoulat, and took refuge in his dominions, and withdrew his tooth from the confines of Khurasán, he summoned him to the borders of Damg-han and Koms, and Jurján, and gave unto him the revenues of those provinces for wages and maintenance for himself and his army; but the conclusion of all his transactions, and his wealth, and his condition shall be unfolded in its proper place, please God.

And after the affair of Nasr-Ibn-Zaid the Prince Núh sent a servant unto the court of Násir-Addín, and consulted him upon conferring the office of Vízír upon some efficient person of the province, who should possess a persevering mind, addicted to the regulation of affairs. Násir-Addín presented the right of making the selection to the (common) judgment of the kingdom; and making use of the services of every one of the Vízírs attached to his Court, whose judgment might make the election, the choice fell upon Abul-Muzaffar-Bargashi, and he was accordingly honoured by his Highness with the robe which was fit for that good fortune, and suitable to his efficiency, and he, in the dress of that office, displayed the marks of fortitude and the evidences of good sense, and established good

regulations, and was the happy occupant of that employment, until the close of the life of the Prince Núh. And the Amír Nasír-Addín came to Balkh, and the Amír Saif-Addoulat went to Nishapúr, and Abul-Hasan-'bn-Abi-Ali-'bn Simjúr, established himself in the coasts of Káín, and when intelligence of the flight of his father to Túś came to him he went to Ray, and had recourse unto the care of Fakhr-Addoulat; and Fakhr-Addoulat in his behalf was forward in opening the gates of kindness and favour, and every month he paid in his name fifty thousand dirhems, by way of monthly (pay), and he continually maintained him with increased marks of generosity and honour, and acts of favour, and deeds of kindness. And he paid continual attention to him, partly in order to honour his noble descent, and partly in order to show forth that such a personage as the son of Simjúr was in his service; and he passed a long time before him upon the carpet of prosperity and the abode of comfort, until the star of misfortune arose, and the miseries of evil luck cast him down from the canopy of safety and the roof of peace into the pit of grief and the noose of perplexity; for, on account of the inclination which he felt for *the object in view*,* he went to Nishapúr, and he attached himself to the imagination that he might be able to

* Doubtless to raise a rebellion against Núh.

proceed by gentle degrees to his object, under the curtain of concealment and under the speech of secrecy; but they quickly stripped off from him the skirt of concealment, and drew him forth infamous and mortified, and sent him to Bukhárá. And thus the decree of God reached its full accomplishment with respect to him, and thus his condition came to its end, by reason of the reputation of his father, and Um-Salmah, in his poem, writes these two verses, with veritable judgment (Verse)

"Though one may abstain from sin,
"Though he be an Ayesha in constancy before men,
"God removes their understandings from the people,
"When he would accomplish his decrees upon their chief."

And the petty Amír of Tús remained in his rank amongst the body of the soldiers of Saif-Addoulat until he had fulfilled his designs respecting Máwaralnahr, and until the Turkish affair was effectually settled; and, in the midst of this affair, he (Saif-Addoulat) was so involved in alarm and terror from a dream, that he seized him (of Tús), and the end of his history partook of the nature of the question of Abú-Alí and his other colleagues.*

And when Nasír-Addín returned from the affair of Tús, and had taken up his residence tranquilly at Balkh, he there received intelligence of the affairs of Abú-Alí and his comrades. And

* *i. e.* He was possibly put to death.

immediately after this news an assemblage of misfortunes amongst the Princes and great men of Irak and Khurasán rapidly followed and succeeded one another on every side (Verse)

"Mansions flow upon the site of mansions,* as if they had all arrived at the time of paying the last debt."

The meaning of this expression is as follows: namely, that Mamún-Ibn-Muhammad, whilst at an entertainment given by the general of his troops, was killed by the hand of his guards. And on the thirteenth day of the month Rajab, in the year 387, A.H., the Prince Núh, after an illness of two or three days, went to God, and in the flower of his youth departed unto the residence of the grave. And they gave this Prince the surname of Amir-Riza, (or Ridha), (*i. e.*), Lord of Kindness.

And a great man of the nobles of Nasír-Addín, who was the brother of his soul, together with several of his infant children, and servants and slaves removed to the mansion of eternity. And at last the Amír became very ill and confined to his bed. He entertained the hope of convalescence and restoration, and became earnestly desirous of the water and the air of Ghazna, and sought healing and refreshment from the breezes of that region, but the decree of fate and the ordi-

* Or (great) families pass away upon (great) families.

nation of God did not permit that, and his desire never received its fulfilment, and he resigned his soul to Paradise in one of the resting-houses on his road.

They transported his remains, in a litter, to Ghazna. And, amongst the peculiar occurrences and wonderful incidents relating to him, Utbi, in his book, cites the following: "I was in attendance upon the Amír Nasír-Addín before the occurrence of his illness, and he, in the course of conversation with the Shaikh Abul-Fath-Busti said, 'We, in treating the diseases which occur to us and in estimating the maladies which happen to us, are like sheep—the first time that the sheep-shearer, in order to free them from their dirty wool, firmly binds their four feet, they see an action to which they have not been accustomed and are in a condition contrary to their usual wont, and they, therefore, in great trouble and in their extreme terror, cast themselves upon the ground and they are almost in despair of their life, and give themselves up for dead, until the shearer has completed his business and released them: then repose finds its way into them and they feel rejoiced at the breath of life, and at the restoration of safety. But the second time that they fall into the hand of the shearer their condition is one between fear and hope, and as soon as they are released they forget that condition, and on that account their

apprehension becomes less; so that at the third time they regard it as a usual established custom, and are perfectly quiet. And thus when the butcher takes hold of them, and binds them they by no means feel any terror or dread, but they remain in the weakest security, and in the most quiet and contented state, whilst he cuts through their neck-viens with the sword of violence, and casts their sweet life to the winds. We in our various maladies, vicissitudes of sicknesses, and attacks of disease, are deceived and gladdened with the hope of restoration and recovery, and we become deaf and careless to the summons of death, until the noose of fate falls upon the neck, and the chain of destiny becomes firmly fastened upon us.' And between the utterance of this similitude, and the completion of the days of his life there did not intervene a space of forty days, and all men wondered at the occurrence of this event, and at the surprising and unexpected verification of this saying, that the decree of the Almighty should be so thoroughly accomplished in this speech of his, and that this enlightened mind, which was the mirror of the secrets of mystery, and that blessed tongue which was the interpreter of the events of fortune, should so clearly express the appointments of destiny, and the certainty of the last hour, before the approach of his departure, or the time of his resting from the journey of life."

And in the subsequent period, and in future times, a palace was built at the place where he died, and named Sahal-Abad,* and considerable sums were settled as an endowment for its support, and an entire acre of the plain was set out for the beautifying and adornment of the foundation, and for the columns to support that rare fabric and admirable structure; but on account of the troubled state of the times it never was completed, and his sons declined to undertake its accomplishment, and thus it happened that it fell to ruin, and the pains which had been devoted to its foundation and support were wasted. And a certain learned man passed by this palace, and made the following verses upon its appearance (Verse)

"Heaven bless thee in this desert mansion. Thou hast lighted up in me my old regret,† and thou knowest that I promised thee, a month since, a new (mansion) and it is not accomplished; for changes of inclination have worn out thy dwelling in a month."

And thus this unfortunate building, through the instability of earthly things and of deceitful fortune, became useless; like a child-devouring crocodile, and like the fox of fraud, and like the wolf of howling, and like the shifting shadow, and like the unprofitable desert-mist (Verse)

* Sahal Abad, Mansion of the Mild (?)—Sabaktagín is represented as a Prince of an amiable and humane disposition.

† *i. e.* Obviam factus sum (subito) desiderio meo.

"The world is a decaying embankment, by a passing torrent.

"Think not that you can construct a stable building with one handful of clay."

And the Shaik Abul-Falk-Basti, in his poem commending Násir-Addín, says thus (Verse)

"I said, when Nasír-Addín-wa-Addoulah died, 'His life was a multitude of glories. The agglomeration of his virtues contended with each one separately in excellence; as this man will rise with this confusedly on the last day.'"

And immediately after this event there arrived the news of the death of Fakhr-Addoulat-Alí-Búgali, and thus both were buried in the month Shabán, in the year 387. And the cause of the death of Fakhr-Addoulat (besides the decree of the Lord) was this; he was building the fortress of Tabarak, and when he had finished it he went into the fortress with some wine-bibbing comrades, and occupied himself in merriment, and he felt a wish for some roasted kababs of beef, and they brought an ox before him, and killed it, and made kababs of its flesh, and he exceeded very much in eating these; and he afterwards again drank some heavy cups of wine, and his bowels twisted, and a severe illness began, through which he resigned his life, and Abul-Faraj-Sawa, in his poem thus says (Verse)

"Ah! the world is saying to him who is filled therewith!

'Beware, beware of my sudden violence or secret onset. Let not my prolonged smile deceive thee. My words may make thee laugh, my deeds will make thee weep.'"

And their subsequent condition, after the occurrence of these misfortunes, and the falling out of these sorrows, was this, that Ali, the son of Mahmúd, took his father's place, and the army inaugurated him, and his authority extended beyond his own territory to Jurján and Khwarazm, and recovered its former stability. And the hereditary kingdom of Riza-Núh-'bn-Mansúr devolved upon his next heir, Abul-Harith-Mansúr-Ibn-Núh, and the oaths of the regiments of the army were taken to him as General and Sultán.* And he distributed amongst the body of the army his inherited money, and his stored-up valuables; and the sentiments of all were unanimously favourable to undertake his service, and his obedience. And the Vízír Abul-Muzaffar-Baragshi became settled and confirmed upon the cushion of office.

Now Násir-Addín in his lifetime, had nominated his son Ismaïl as his heir, and his will confided his children and his family to his care. And when the will of God brought it to pass (that he

* Abul Harith is here styled *Sultán*, but more commonly *Amír* or *Malik*. *Sultán* appears to denote a sovereign who wins his power by force (Τύραννος) *Amír*, the Lieutenant of the ecclesiastical sovereign, and *Malik*, one who peacefully and regularly acquires or enjoys a kingdom (Βασιλεύς).

died), the whole assembly of the chiefs and of the people hastened to engage in his service, and became submissive unto the guiding string of obedience, and devotion unto him and the will of the late Amír respecting obedience to his authority was effectually performed, and the assembled council of the officers of State agreed respecting the means of supplying maintenance to the various ranks of his Court.

And with regard to Fakhr-Addoulat the whole country of Dilám after his decease unanimously joined his son Majd-Addoulat-Abu-Talib-Rustám, and placed him upon the throne, and, by the authority of the Khalif, gave him the surname of Majd-Addoulat-wa-Kahf-Almillat.* And the complete history of both these personages shall be given in its proper place, please God. And the poet Thaálabí, in his account of these affairs and the wonders of this year, and the distresses of these times, has written a descriptive poem, and in truth that which Abu-Mansur-Thaálabí hath written is an enchanting production (Verse)

"Dost thou not see what for two years has been successively the cry?

"There has been a cry to death and murder.

"Núh, the son of Mansúr! the striking hand hath seized him on those protected parts which the ribs are pledged to guard" *the heart (?)*

* Glory of the Empire and Asylum of the Religious.

"Oh the calamity of Mansur! in the day of odds and evens"—chance (?)

"The kingdom was wrested from him and he perishes," &c.

And when Abul-Harith-Mansur-'bn-Núh became adorned with his brilliant kingdom, and received this his extreme power, he was in the first dawn of life, and the first days of youth, and in the morning of perception. And the lights of generosity, and good-fellowship were evident upon his joyous face, and the marks of good fortune and prosperity were apparent in the firmness of his movements and carriage. The office of Vízír was confirmed to Abul-Mazaffar-Baragshí, and the reins of affairs and the general superintendence of all matters was conferred upon Fáík. And Nasír-Addín had obtained the release of Abdullah-'bn-Azíz from prison, and he had gone to the higher provinces of Mawaralnahr, when intelligence of the decease of the Prince Núh reached him; he thereupon incited Abu-Nasir-Ispahani to covet the administration of the army of Khurasán, and he advised him to obtain the aid of Ilek-Khán in this matter, and to ask men from him, and that he would conquer Khurasán for him. Both of them accordingly proceeded to Ilek-Khán for the settlement and the arrangement of this proposition; and Abú-Mansúr, with a body of chamberlains and their comrades, was then with Ilek-Khán, who had received them as guests, and their troops and

attendants were occupied in arranging their encampment, and pitching their tents. Ilek-Khán then seized Ispahani* and Ibn-Azíz, and put both in fetters, and sent a message to Fáík, and summoned him to his Court; and when he was coming to his presence he exhibited the greatest confidence in him, and received him with the utmost veneration and honour, and assigned him three thousand cavalry to form his escort, and sent him forward to the province of Bukhárá. And when Abúl-Harith received an intimation of these occurrences he became confused, and his mind, from a condition of steadiness and security, fell into a state of weakness, and he thought that it would be best for him to collect all his followers and to pass over the Jihún, and to leave his estate and his abode. And when Fáík came to Bukhárá he went before the throne, and kissed the ground, and stood in the place of the chamberlains, and testified much regret, and uttered lamentations at the removal of Abúl-Harith from the throne of royalty, and the dwelling of his kindred, and the residence of his ancestors, and he sent the senators of Bukhárá after him, who expressed humility, and invited him to establish himself again in the kingdom, and offered to assist in securing obedience and service to him. And when Abúl-Harith heard of these events he recovered

* Or Isfanjani; the points are doubtful.—M. KASIMIRSKI.

confidence, and exhibited reliance upon Fáík, and dispatched to Fáík a royal letter full of praises of his efforts, and approbation of what had happened, and of gratification at all his loyalty, and the commencement of this royal document was as follows: "Thou who hast acted with sincerity, God is thy friend, He will extend thy bridle-cords. Thou who art a faithful adviser, God will make all straight before thee. Happy is his confidence where he hath fixed it. This man will pass his life commended wherever this (*i. e.*, confidence) is current."*

And Abúl-Harith was very cheerful under these circumstances, and he sent Yaktuzun,† the Lord Chamberlain, to Nishapúr, for the purpose of collecting the soldiers and the military stores, and gave to him the surname of Sinan-Addoulat,‡ and he set forward to Bukhárá, and Fáík went out with a deputation to meet him, and paid to him the usual compliments of service and respect; and he came to him upon his charger to the palace, and thus the fire of that quarrel became entirely extinct (Persian Verse)

"Beast and bird found repose in the asylum of peace; men and animals rested under the canopy of justice; heaven took off the belt from the sword; fortune removed the string from the curved bow; the oppressor felt his empty liver grieved for want of blood, and the mouth of righteousness unfolded in smiles like the rose."

* A free version. † Or Baktúzun (passim).

‡ Probably Bridle Rein of the Empire.

And between Fáík and Begtúzun an old grudge existed, and a violent controversy had lasted long; but the Amír Abúl-Harith exerted himself in appeasing and removing it; and he reconstructed their friendship so that the words of both agreed in professing service to his Highness, and their foot became firm and stedfast in assisting the State. And Fáík relinquished his coldness, and displayed a readiness for agreement and concord. And the command of the army was settled upon Begtúzun, and he made the taxes of Khurasán profitable to the royal treasury, and he displayed zeal in procuring the regular payment of dues to the tribute. And the Amír thus possessed Khurasán without interruption or trouble, until the demon of strife found the means of interrupting this tranquillity of mind, and he rose up against his benefactor, and gave to the winds the ancient kingdom, and the noble house of the family of Sámán, and procured unto himself so bad a name that the blame of those deeds and the shame of those actions shall exist for ever.

ACCOUNT OF THAT WHICH PAST BETWEEN THE AMÍR SAIF-ADDOULAT AND HIS BROTHER ISMAÏL, AFTER THE DEATH OF THEIR FATHER.

When Nasír-Addín died, and the government was settled upon Ismaïl, the army extended the neck of covetousness, and began to seek the largesse

of investiture. And he divided amongst them the treasures of the earth, but his belt became too narrow to embrace that office, and the enervation of his strength and the debility of his disposition became apparent, and he was not able to abide firmly by the rules of the government, and of the mastery of others. There were two causes of this, one, that he was in the vigour of youth, and possessed no experience, and saw not what was right or wrong, and knew nothing of the management of affairs; and the second was, that he had no confidence in his brother, and was acquainted with his perfect haughtiness and severe manners, and was aware of his powerful intellect, his great virtues, his unbounded vigour, strength, and majesty. And when the army perceived his inefficiency and weakness they began to stretch out the skirt of intemperance and importunity, and to ask for allowances and payments beyond their due, and became eager for increased pay and allowances, until the whole of the accumulated treasures left behind by Nasír-Addín were swallowed up in the supply of their cravings, and the treasury became empty. And the Amír Ismaïl extended his hand to seize upon the treasures of the citadel, and the trust-money of Ghazna, and if the period of his government had been extended, he would have broken up the whole system of administration and of revenue, for most of the Court attached themselves to divide and tear

up. And when Saif-Addoulat received intelligence of that which had happened to his father, he (first) adhered to the usual rules of mourning, and sent a letter of condolence to his brother, and dispatched Abul-Hasán-Hamúlí * on a mission to convey it, (and in this letter he said), "Our father who was the Paradise of affairs and the pillar of events hath departed, and now there is not for me upon the face of the earth any one more honoured than thee, and nothing dearer to me than thy sweet life, and thy bright eyes; and whatever thy wish, or the desire of thy inclination might seek to obtain, as regards authority, and command, and treasure, and slaves, and goods, and troops, I feel no regret that you should possess them. Notwithstanding this, my power and my experience in the events of fortune, and my knowledge of the minutest points relating to military command, and my acquaintance with the management of troops, and my practical experience in the manners of the world, may prove a well-compacted foundation, and a strong means of support for the establishment of thy kingdom, and for the perpetuity of thy authority, and if thy supreme power and authority should perform what is expected of thee in the transaction of these affairs, and should display firmness in that which appertains unto the throne, and should exhibit

* Or *Hamwali.*

liberality in the settlement of these matters, I will be the most obedient and the most satisfied of all men, although our father made a will which was affronting to me, on account of the distance between us, and on account of the dread of calamity, and on account of his being separated from a composed mind and a state of volition. It would seem therefore fit that thou shouldst entertain thoughts of foresight, and shouldst recognize the way of equity, and that thou shouldst relinquish to me Ghazna, which is the rising star of fortune, and the starting point of government, and the strength of the chiefs of the State; whilst we, on our part, will relinquish for thee the territory of Balkh, or we will settle upon thee the government and generalship of the armies of Khurasán."

The Amír Ismaïl did not receive these words favourably, and that which was unfortunate and afflicting in his road seized hold of the border of his prosperity, and he remained interdicted from the enjoyment of fortune. The Governor of Jurján stood up to mediate between them, and chided them much, giving them many good counsels and pieces of advice, if by any means he might have held them to the observance of the rules of fraternity and friendship, and might expel from the minds of each of them the serpent of malignity, by means of kindness and benevolence. And said thus to them: "Kindred when so near should display

mutual affection. It is right that you two brothers should be inclined to each other, and should regard each other, and by personal conversation and hearing each other should bring forth that affection, and regard, and attention to entreaty, which remains concealed within your secret souls, and that you should keep entirely apart from all that might conduce to the injury of your houses, and the diminution of your dignity, and to blind anger, and to the gratification of your enemies." This advice was favourably received by the Amír Saif-Addoulat, and he yielded to it a gracious ear, and he was satisfied with and concurred with it. But with respect to the Amír Ismaïl, on account of his apprehension, and his distrust and suspicion, he would not surrender himself, and turned aside from these good counsels, and he saw the waste of his most precious treasures, and the overbearing force of a corrupted army preponderate over the preservation of his family, and the friendship of his brother, and of his subjects, and over all sound conduct. On account of the depravity which had obtained the mastery over his better soul, and of the fancy which was newly conceived in the border of his mind, because he had removed the reins of quietness and repose from his hand. And Utbi* relates as follows—I conveyed to the hearing of

* Author of these Memoirs (the Arabic original text).

the Amír Ismaïl certain verses which Saif-Addoulat-Hamadáni had spoken upon the subject of his brother Nasir-Addoulat, in order that he might if possible smooth the way to the establishment of the foundations of friendship, and might establish those brotherly relations becoming their condition, whereby all motive for unkindness and aversion might be abolished. But these verses did not stand before him on the wheels of fortune, and did not attach themselves unto the resting point (fulcrum) of gracious acceptance. And the verses were these that follow (Verse)

"I was well pleased with thy elevation, even although I myself was worthy thereof, and I said to them, 'Between me and between my brother there is a difference, yet I by no means evaded taking an oath of fidelity to him, although it infringed upon my rights. Thus all duty was fulfilled. But, since thou art not content that I should be a successful petitioner, I am content that he may be the pre-eminent.'"

And the Amír Saif-Addoulat remained unequal to apply a remedy to these matters, or to discover a way of deliverance and escape from these difficulties, since his quiet disposition and kind nature, and gravity, and gentleness was averse from taking the first step into the gate of extremities, or from taking the lead in opposition and determination; particularly in reference to a brother who was the apple of his eye and a part of the liver of his body and soul, and the fruit of his heart, and the flower

of the garden of his enjoyment, and the maintenance of the days of his life; but he could not succeed in his endeavours to seek the means of mending this torn garment, nor could he find any way to reconcile this quarrel. And in him was exemplified the text which says, "The last remedy is the actual cautery," and he began to be convinced that when the hand, which is the pillar of the body, and the most precious limb for seizing, wounding, or attacking, is bitten by a serpent, and the rest of the body, on account of its dependence upon it, begins to perish, there are no means of cure except by cutting it off; and also the teeth which compose the mill of the body, and by the strength of which the meals which support life are broken up, when they become eaten through by decay, and when through the pain which they cause, the delights of life become impracticable, there is no other remedy with respect to them except to extract them, and to destroy them.

Hereupon he sent a letter to the Amír Abul-Harith, and intimated to him the state of affairs, and informed him that to proceed to Ghazna was a matter of necessity, and that to march down to that quarter was an act which was indispensable. He therefore set off, and turned his face towards Ghazna, and when he arrived at Herát he betook himself to write, and he brought forward words and fair promises, and both in kind and harsh (expres-

sions) brought prominently forward the most minute points in apology for his measures. But nothing profitable resulted, and nothing useful ensued; so that the mediation between these powers, and the cutting off of this strife, fell to the sword, and the sword produced perils, and slaughter, and battles (Verse)

"Increased opposition was intense between us. I related to him the affection of Safad and Haivam, and when I saw that there was nothing definite in him I managed what was sufficient for him with the victorious contention of resistance."

And Saif-Addoulat mentioned his grief to Bagrajak, and offered proposals of mutual friendship and support, and he undertook to do him service without stipulating for any fixed reward, and he sought to aid him with the ensigns of war, and came to Bost to help him. And the Amír Nasr-'bn-Nasír-Addín* was at that place. He also, with the most sincere friendship and the most pure feeling of brotherhood proceeded without delay to the service of his fortunate standard, and girded up the loins of obedience and readiness in the support of his design, and with the utmost candour, and without the least hypocrisy, became one of his followers.

And when the Amír Ismaïl received the news of the march of Saif-Addoulat, and of his intention to proceed towards Ghazna, he used great expedi-

* Brother of the two princes, Ismail and Mahmúd.

tion, and proceeded from Balkh to Ghazna. And the nobles of the kingdom, and the chiefs of his Highness, dispatched messages of kindness to the Amír Saif-Addoulat, and represented the sincerity of their obedience, and began to enter into proposals of reconciliation and friendship, and the rejection of variance. And the envoys and intercessors used their utmost endeavours for the settlement of friendship; but the dispensation of heaven proved victorious, and the sparks of iniquity blazed into a flame, and the Amír Saif-Addoulat advanced his forces, and put his regiments in array.

And he arranged rightly his left and right wing, and the warriors of the troops and the chiefs of the armies came into the field of battle like fierce lions, who strike the talons of war into the neck of fate at the time of battle when the wheel of fortune is suspended in the air (Verse)

"Sword skilfully took off the edge of sword; souls and bodies resided in them. They are messengers seeking death; for doubtless between death and them there is a near relationship" (or sympathy).

And the Amír Ismaïl came to meet him with his own guards and slaves, and with the comrades and followers of his father, and he supported the centre and the wing with elephants of an enormous size, like dark-coloured mountains. And when the two armies came together, the sword becoming

capable of speech, mounting upon the lofty pulpit to utter forth the decrees of destiny, summoned the wielders of the spear, and said, "The spear, although he is a strong serpent, when he comes upon the eye of a ring of a coat of mail, quivers and trembles, and I am a Hindú of good family,* and I so bore into the eye of the body-clothing-armour that I enter into the object which I seek, namely, the red face (of warriors). By every flash of mine which pierces from the depth of my vigour I see into the treasury of the breast, and with every edge which is attached to my belt I have drawn blood (as) from the mouth of the gad-fly." All threw the darts and drew out the swords, and so great a battle ensued that the iron-hearted weapon wept blood at the noise of the exploits of the youthful combatants of the war, and the scorpion in the sky burnt his heart, and battles succeeded battles, and Arcturus shot forth javelins, and the two dog-stars began to weep, and the sky drew over her head the blue garment of mourning, and from the fire of battle the moon singed her cheek, and the expanse of the heavens became bent in the back from anxiety, and the stars spread their pillows upon the carpet of the milky way, and the morning tore her garment (Verse)

"By the slaughter which caused the leaves of life to fall

* *i. e.* A sword of Indian steel.

and by the voice of the cock proclaiming death, the state of affairs converted the spring into autumn, the sword pouring water like blood upon the garden of the field of battle, filled it with roses and flowers stained with gore."

And the Amír Saif-Addoulat made a charge, and from the mist of his sword superinduced a dark-coloured mantle of blood over the hills and on the plains, and from the blood of throats converted the surface of the green turf into a rose-coloured parterre of the Argwan (Verse)

"Wheresoever thou hast thrust thy spear it reached the heroes of the field; wheresoever thou hast dashed thy battle-axe thou didst cause the enemy to remember it, thou hast broken the ball of pardon* over the head of the lions of war, thou hast cut through the coats of mail which were upon the bodies of warriors. Unto Khusru and to Mansur arose the shout of battle from the sky, and from the earth came the cry of the enemy, saying, 'Oh, King of Kings, quarter!' every moment from smiling victory arose the clamour of 'Wonderful, wonderful is the sword in the royal hand.'"

And the leavings of the sword sought the road of safety and the way of security upon the cliffs of the mountains, and the Amír Ismaïl fled into the castle of Ghazna, and in one of the towers of that stronghold was guarded against the misfortunes of his chiefs and the mischances of his officers, and the Amír Saif Addoulat, when his anger was appeased and the battle at an end, and the flame of war had gone down, forgave him, and received

* *i. e.* Death, when referred to Mussalmáns.

him under the guardianship of his protection and support, and forgot what was past; and the fidelity of brotherhood and the sincerity of affection was again placed upon a secure foundation. Truly God is most wise in equity.*

History of Abul-Kasim-Simjur, and of what fell out between him and Begtuzum.

Abul-Kasim-Simjúr, after the death of Fakhr-Addoulat, became settled at Jurjan, in the Court of his son Majd-Addoulat, and appeared constant in his obedience and service to him; and the most eminent of the servants and the most important of the courtiers of the family of Simjúr betook themselves to him from Khurasán, and a considerable army was collected together with him, and all his affairs were well ordered, both as regards the compactness of the army, and the liberal supply of stores and men, and Faik, on account of the irritation which he felt against Begtuzum, wrote soothing letters to Abul-Kásim, and stirred him up to march against Begtuzum, and excited him, and induced him to request the office of general of the army, which was the ancient dignity belonging to the family of Simjur, until he began to inhale this

* Abul Farajius informs us that Mahmúd and Ismaïl divided the kingdom between them, which may probably have been the case for some time.

breath (of flattery) and to buy this coquetry (of deception) and forgetfully to sell ready money for credit, and, according to the proverb, "The den is the lodging for the lion," he set his heart upon being separated from Jurjan, and he proceeded to oppress and vex Begtuzúm, and thus all things happened according to the saying (Verse)

"I am surely one who leave the assembly of the generous, and my cup fills with abundance the avaricious; like that bird who leaves her eggs uncovered and clothes the egg of another bird with her wings."

And he sent on in advance the lawyer* Abu-Ali-'bn-Abil-Kasim. And he, when he came to Isfárayin, arrived at a place where a detachment from the army of Begtuzúm had taken up its position. He gave them battle and broke through them, and went on their rear as far as to Nishapúr, and, when they arrived at Nishapúr, Begtuzúm sent a message to Abul-Kasim, to the following effect, that the business of war rests upon no security, and its issue is behind the veil of mystery, and to support one's self upon the prop of force and grandeur, and to become cheated and flattered by fortunate circumstances and propitious events, is a proceeding far removed from the system of good sense and the way of rectitude. And a man falls into the difficulties of war who finds no possible

* Or theologian, priest.

means of returning into the spacious and unconfined plain of peace. This is the most advisable proceeding, that you should halt at Kohistán, which is the (ancient) portion of the house of Simjúr, until I send to the king, and obtain a grant and concession (for you) of the province of Herat and the districts bordering upon those coasts.

Abul-Kasim, however, did not incline himself to these words and was entirely deceived by his victory over those timid youths and by the number of his followers, and he placed his entire reliance upon his force and strength, and remained indifferent to the consequences of self-will and carelessness, and to the issue of rebellion and peevishness, and therefore he put his troops in array and prepared for war. And Bektuzúm, when he saw his stubbornness in folly and in error, and that, through his recklessness, like the moth flying into the flame, he had fallen into the narrow passage of ruin, began also to prepare the necessaries of war; and he made a prosperous commencement of the undertaking and set his face to carry on the war, and they fell upon each other at the moist desert at the gate of Nishapúr, and they made the social round of the cup of vengeance to each other, until their swords had drank well (of the streams of blood). And the sun, in terror at that battle, drew his round shield over his face, and the sword

struck in attacking the young warriors, and the eastern rays of the sun, from shame at the western flash of the swords, became veiled, and the battle-axe recorded upon the helmet historical tales and exploits (Verse)

"The rejoicing dagger streamed with the blood of enemies, like clods of earth which are penetrated with the force of moisture."

(Arabic Verse)

"The aimed javelins cut through livers, and thy protection is only to be found in the fortunate verses of the Koran."

And at last Bektuzum obtained the victory and Simjur took to flight, and Abul-Kasim, the Divine, who was the pillar of the army and the support of affairs, together with the whole company of the other chiefs of the people, were taken prisoners, and Simjúr proceeded to Kohistán. This event happened in the month Rebia-Al-Awwal, in the year 388, and Bektuzum caused to run, in all directions, swift messengers, and gave information of the victory which had been gained; and the chiefs of the State were exalted at that joyful news and proof of God's goodness, except Fáik, who was sorry thereat, and from vexation thereat gnawed the finger of spitefulness and rage. And with regard to Simjur he remained quiet at Kohistan, and began to recover from that misfortune, and

was engaged in the business of his investiture, and urged on the collectors of taxes to be active in gathering the dues; and Bektuzum began to turn his attention unto him, in order that he might wrest that province from his grasp; and, when an engagement between them was nearly approaching, all who were around them interposed to mediate between them and to arrange the dispute, and they contrived to procure a meeting between them, and Abul-Kasim gave his son 'Bn-Abu-Sahl to Bektuzum, as an hostage, and the chief matter of dispute was thus cut off. And Abul-Kasim came to Kohistán and Bektuzum proceeded to Nishapur. This accommodation took place in the month Rejib, in the year 388.

But that grudge which had existed between Faik and the Vizir Abul-Muzaffar broke out afresh, and Abul-Muzaffar, from his dread of Faik, flew to the chief capital, and found safety in transferring his allegiance to the Amír Abul-Hareth. And Fáík sent a person and demanded him again, in an overbearing and contentious manner; and the Amír Abul Hareth returned a sharp answer, and Fáik, in disgust, quitted the Governor's palace, and resolved to proceed towards the Turkish provinces, but the senators of Bukhárá exerted themselves to restore friendship, and they appeased the mind of the Amír Abul-Hareth, and they prevailed upon Fáik to relax his fury, and, for the

sake of peace, they sent Abul-Muzaffar, for a time, to the coast of Jurján, and they conferred the office of Vizir upon Abul-Kasim-Barmakí,* and the skilful lyre of Abu-Shanji thus sings of this equitable arrangement, in these verses, where he says (Verse)

"We certainly, for a time, blamed (the course of) time, and we grieved that the office of Vizir should be given to Al-Balaami (the glutton). Time afterwards changed for us and attained from Al Balaami unto Al-Burghushi (the flea) and time will now unfold what it announced respecting him (namely) that he was near unto (the appointment of) Al-Barmakí."†

And Abul-Kasim Barmaki was virtuous, efficient, and intelligent, but, however, the spirit of avarice had obtained a mastery over his disposition, and, when he took possession of the office of Vizir, he betook himself to the course of injustice and of close calculation and scantiness towards the Turkish guards and officers of the army, with respect to their wages, and rations, and clothing. He was suddenly killed, by two or three of the guards; and these verses (following upon the subject) are remarkable for their beauty, their cadence, and their pleasing expression (Verse)

"There was mentioned to me an old camel, whose disposi-

* Barashi.—De Sacy.

† It was grievous to have the glutton for Vizir but it was better to have the flea, for we soon afterwards had Barmaki.

tion was mutilated and as it were possessed by a corrupt spirit. Never may the tips of my fingers touch that mutilated and depraved old camel. He is not one who melts (into his mouth) wine out of gold. And a cup of silver would choke an avaricious man."

Account of the Conveyance of the Amír Ismaïl from the Citadel of Ghazna.

The Amír Saif-Addoulat brought down his brother, by professions of peace, and kindness, and friendship, from the citadel of Ghazna, and extorted from him the keys of the Treasury, and converted to his own use the property and the deposits of the citadel, and the state of weakness into which the army had recently fallen was remedied and a state of security was restored. And he placed his own surveyors and collectors at Ghazna, over the revenue, and he replaced a strong guard of horse, for the purpose of guarding and protecting the treasure in the castle, and he came, with his army laden with booty, to Balkh, and communicated to His Highness (his Suzerain)* an account of his condition and of his famous victory, and of his complete arrangement of his brother's affair, and of his return unto Khurasán, under the canopy of prosperity, and he gave a message, to the following effect, "If my father, who was the guardian

* The Prince of Bukhárá was still Mahmúd's superior lord.

of the kingdom and the protector of the State, hath made a removal from the transitory unto the everlasting world, we nevertheless, in the service of the throne and in the maintenance of the rules of obedience, are our father's heir, and we have stood firmly in maintaining our former duty to the King Ridha-Núh-'bn-Mansúr, and in adhering to the rights of Abul-Hareth, who is the next link in the chain of royalty, and the heir of his crown and of his throne, and to him we bind up the loins of service, and we will charge ourselves with the duty of supporting the chiefs of the State, and of humbling the enemies of His Highness."

The Amír Abul-Hareth sent unto him the Sayyad Abul-Hasan-Alawy-Hamadání, and, in order to congratulate him upon his arrival, sent by his hand a royal letter patent, confirming to him the government of Balkh, and Harát, and Bost, and Sarmadh. But, as to the question of Nishapúr and the prince-generalship of the troops, he, with great kindness and regard, observed, "Bektuzún is a servant of the State and one who was piously well disposed and inclined to fulfil his ancient duties, and for me, without some new cause and the allegation of some excuse, to issue a royal order for his removal, and thus to cut off his bread, would be an action far removed from the rules of generosity and justice." The Amir Saif-Addoulat charged this proceeding with the accusa-

tion that it had been dictated by envious and malicious opponents; and he sent Abul-Hasam-Hamwali with a message to him and despatched by him, the particulars of his charge, informing him that both the pens of his writers and the intellects of his accountants were unable to define or to compute that communication. He expressed his expectation that the exalted mind would not change or alter the settlement to which he was engaged, or that the extension of mutual assistance, according to the rules of friendly intercourse, should receive no diminution. He said, "Those ties which have been established between us and our father, for the service of the royal throne, ought not to be destroyed by the violence or the cavils of enemies, nor ought the bracelet of affection be broken, or the foundation of mutual aid and support be split asunder, and that strength which has resulted and has enabled us to obtain a firm mastery over Khurasán, and to regulate all the affairs of the army, ought not to be ruined and undone."

And when Hamwali arrived at Bukhárá the cushion of the Vizárat was vacant, and they proposed to him the gratification of this office. With this office he was so much overjoyed and flattered that he began to overlook the mission on which he had been sent, and the negotiation with which he had been charged and to which he had been

engaged. And his condition resembled that of which the wise speak (Verse)

"The country was empty, so I ruled without a rival. But it was in misery, I was unrivalled in defects."*

He in this office betook himself to labour hard in what was sinful, and to struggle in affecting that which was impossible, and he fancied that, by his own capabilities and management, he could untie a knot which by the revolutions of the sky (time) had been firmly fixed, and that, by his skill and wisdom, he could restore those systems which had arrived at old age to the freshness of youth, and that, through the manœuvreing and attention of ingenuity, he could restore newness and sweetness to the robe which, by constant wear in the streets and amongst the people, had become a tattered beggar's garment, and was far from thinking of the proverb, "That which time has made offensive the perfumer will never make fresh." And truly does the lyre of Boshanji say of him (Verse)

"Surely we blame fortune, through inexperience, with respect to Joseph and Al-Balghami, and others, until fortune shoots against our helmet afterwards, and we, both servant and master, do wrong," &c.

And when the Amír Saif-Addoulat received by testimony the representation of affairs, and an

* Freely rendered.

account of his weak understanding, and his failing judgment, and of the clashing of interests, and of the bad guidance of the people, and understood that the kingdom was on the verge of ruin and the path of destruction, and that all those persons who are the most eminent of the State, and the chief officers of the Court, were engaged in benefiting their own condition, and in compassing their own ends, he set his face towards Nishapúr, in order to keep watch over his ancient dignity, and that he might remove those defacings which through mismanagement had appeared upon the structure of his honour. And Bektuzún, when he became convinced of his intention and design, hurried out of the way of the course of the torrent, and conveyed himself and his property, and his household, and his army out of danger, and removed from Nishapúr, and sent a letter to his Highness of Bukhárá and intimated his condition. And the Amír Abul-Hareth through the intoxication of youth, and the foolishness of boyhood, and because he had not experienced the changes of fortune, or tasted of the coldness or the warmth of time, collected a considerable army, and proceeded from Bukhárá unto the province of Khurasán, with the intention of opposition, and with the design of repelling him,* and came by successive marches to

* *i. e. Mahmúd*, at present entitled Saif-Addoulat.

Sarakhs.* And the Amír Saif-Addoulat knew well that this proceeding was caused by folly, and by disregard to the opinion of people of judgment, and an evidence of a departure from right advice and counsel, since this body of men were not possessed of much strength, nor were a match for his forces, for that they all would be annihilated by one attack of the torrent of his sea, and by one charge of his reserved guard would be reduced to nothing. However he was unwilling to tear the curtain of his bashfulness,† or to rend his veil, or that the glory of that kingdom should pass away by his means, and that the claims of friendship should be destroyed or set aside for one fault. Therefore he exhibited some delay and procrastination in advancing his standards to battle, and he went slowly to Merú and returned to Nishapúr, in order that at another time he might arrange that dispute by means of cutting wrangling, and clear argument, and brilliant apologies, that thus the darts of the envious, and the reproaches of the opposite party, should find no occasion for attacking him, and that both the learned and the ignorant, the high and the humble, might perceive that he had a sufficient

* For an account of Sarakhs and Merú, or Merv, see Burne's *Travels in Bukhárá*.

† *i. e.* Disabuse him and mortify his youthful pride, remove his bashfulness, by collision with others, or dishonour him, by encountering him in the field.

excuse for his proceedings, therefore he proceeded from Meruríd unto the bridge Zaghúl, and remained quiet at that place, and occupied himself in the regulations of his affairs, and in meditating upon the most equitable method of proceeding. And Bektuzún proceeded to the Court of the Amír Abul-Hareth, where Fáik remained in the service of the throne. And Bektuzún had entertained expectations that the honours of his reception by the Amír Abul-Hareth would be greater than he perceived them (really to be), and he submitted to Fáik a complaint upon the subject; and Fáik on his side re-echoed the complaint, and both of them used their utmost endeavours to fix upon him* the imputation of errors and reprehensible actions, and of harshness of disposition, and roughness of deportment, and of a want of popular manners. Their projects soon obtained favour, and they prevailed upon the commonalty to make a demand for his deprivation and removal from office, and they found in all a ready hearing to their directions, and obedience to their guidance; and they engaged together in a plot, and Bektuzún made a petition, and alleged a certain important affair, for which there was need of the assistance and advice of Abul-Hareth, and by this contrivance they procured his presence at a Court, and they seized him

* *i. e.* The Amír of Bukhárá.

and put out his world-seeing eyes, and tore his delicate beauty and his form like the new moon. Nor can they be considered free from the imputation of infamy, nor their dress pure from the stain of ingratitude for benefits. But what was most wonderful was that in this condition he earnestly besought them for three necessary indulgences by way of existence. One was that they should deposit with him his wife, for the purpose of aid, conversation, and society, that he might not endure all the burden of the penalty, and severity, and misery of his offence;* but they, through the excess of their harshness and the fault of their disposition, did not grant that request, but they resisted in a grudging and vacillating manner and through these restrictions and vain longings the fire of his sighs and the wind of his hardship, became increased.

And they placed his brother Abd-Almalik-Ibn-Núh upon the throne, and he was in the season of infancy and the time of perversity, and in the period of weakness and intellectual deficiency. And both high and low, humble and noble, stretched forth the tongue of reproof against this unjust action and shameful measure, and displayed the utmost aversion to this audacious proceeding. But no sooner had intelligence arrived that the

* The other two requests are not mentioned.

Amír Saif-Addoulat had marched to the bridge of Zaghúl than all that party began to fly away in terror, like a flock of sheep from the violence of the lion, or a sparrow from the onset of the hawk, and they did not stop at any place until they arrived at Merú. And the Amír Saif-Addoulat sent a person to Fáik and Bektuzún, and made unmeasured complaints against them, for their infringement of the rights of their benefactor, and their diminution of the reverence due to him. And they betook themselves to deception, and obtained a justification of their proceedings from the mouth of Abdul-Malik-'bn-Núh, and promised additional subjects, and augmented power, and made liberal offers, for the purpose of detaching him (from the opposite party), and exciting avarice in the country of his enlarged soul and liberal feelings. But the Amír Saif-Addoulat, on account of his veneration for Islam and his jealousy for the faith, did not consider it lawful to connive at this shameful conduct, and persisted in resisting these tyrants and sycophants, and marched out with his army and came to Merú, in order that this affair might arrive at examination and these words might be brought to an end by a discussion face to face. But upon the arrival of his stirrup (suite) all this party were struck with confusion, and various kinds of terror and of dread obtained the mastery over their temperament, and they were ashamed of what they

had done. And when they fell into their hands, and saw that they had erred, they said, "Unless our Lord has mercy upon us, and forgives us, we shall certainly be among the wretched."

And the Lord inflicted upon them vengeance, by means of Saif-Addoulat, and made them all examples and (proofs of) misery, according to their deeds and to the wickedness of their actions, and he stripped and pierced them all through with the anguish of their treachery, and with the vileness of their malice,* according to that verse of the Koran: "Thus hath thy Lord seized thee, when he seized thy back, and this is wretchedness, that a great calamity hath seized you."

And Fáík and Bektuzún took their coursers and went down to meet Saif-Addoulat, and instead of obstinacy drew the veil over the head of confusion, and carried depression of mind and weakness of heart upon the loins of repentance, because they thought that that was a sea beyond the measure of their swimming, and that that was a burden beyond their power and strength. And from that reflection perplexity obtained the mastery, and fear and terror became conquerors, and all the world became blocked up, no means of departing from place to place, no means of seeking flight, and no way of providing assistance (Verse)

* MS. confused here.

"Unto whatever action thou dost betake thyself an enemy thereof says, 'Despair! this affair comes not to thee, do not thou come to this affair.'"

And they began to understand that to wrestle with a torrent is to risk one's life, and to butt against a mountain is to give one's head to the winds, and that to strike a blow upon a bodkin* is to expose the hand to destruction. In this helpless condition they sent messengers, and requested delay, and with the most perfect humility offered proposals of peace.

And Saif-Addoulat although he was well acquainted with the corruption of their hearts, and the depravity of their conduct, and although he well knew the depth of their baseness and treachery, yet in order to quiet all dispute, and establish an excuse (for his own conduct), to remove all appearance of suspicion, and to redeem himself from the stigma of rebellion, and the imputation of obstruction and enmity, regarded their petition with favour, and returned a favourable answer to their application, and consented to depart. He accordingly marched, and when his heavy furniture and baggage was on the route the low followers and mob of their camp began to lay the hand of violence and enmity upon the rear of his army, and they plundered some portion of his baggage. And the

* "σκληρὸν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν."—Acts ix, 5.

regular troops of Saif-Addoulat, with their excess of strength and augmented majesty, made a charge; and they (thus) put their foot upon the serpent's tail and threw themselves into the way of destruction. And when Saif-Addoulat witnessed them thus falling into the ruin of error, and precipitating themselves into the den of fate, and beheld their overpowering greediness and false covetousness in the plundering and rapine of their followers, and that the chiefs and officers did nothing to repress the folly of their low followers, or the oscitancy of their mob, he began to understand that their limbs were in his power, and that their stillness and silence* would become examples of the saying, "The fool becomes determined when misfortune compels him." He accordingly ordered that a company of his troops should surround these mob-followers and put them all to death (Verse)

"From the abundance of slain bodies the back of the earth became crooked, instead of being straight; on that side another ground† gave dew."‡

And the army formed itself, and arguments of steel ran throughout the battle field, and well-ordered ranks faced the enemy (Verse)

"From the hoofs of the camels, upon the border of the plain, the earth became six and the sky rolled eight."§

* *i. e.* Their indifference to the conduct of the plunderers.
† *i. e.* The bodies of the dead. ‡ *i. e.* Blood.
§ *i. e.* Confounded at sixes and sevens.

"The low man, when his folly protects itself by speech—in him will be found stutterings and shameful blunders."

And with them the two brothers Nasr and Ismaïl, and their uncle Begrajak, stood in their centre, and there is a place in the verses of Abu-Farash which contains a description of their condition (Verse)

"Our elevation (was) on an eminence, with intense (courage) therein. Truly thou didst stand firm amidst the trees of spears, the horsemen boiled in billows, until the firm earth might be deemed a sea of weapons," &c.

And the disaffected commonalty, on account of the advance of his standards and the onward pressure of his flags, beheld terrific sights like those of the day of judgment, and their affairs were abundantly supplied with vexation and repentance, and they began to blame each other for these reprehensible acts, and for having undertaken so shameful an affair. And being in the intricate narrowness of this difficulty they could not discover the egress of good advice, and being thus without remedy they came out from the city in gaudy cloaks, and splendid coats, and new festival dresses, and the insignia of holiday making, for they had a great opinion of their troops collected from the provinces of Khurasán and Máwarannahr. Horse and foot then assembling, drew up in rank on the front of Saif-Addoulat, and they took their stand

opposite his army, and on both sides the hand embraced the sword and a great slaughter ensued (Verse)

"Oh heaven! what a day was that when, from the rapine of the sword and the arrow, the heavens were thrown into confusion and the earth reduced into distress! Through the heat of the sword the air of the battle-field was burning; and from the flame of the fight the earth of the war-plain was boiling. There were hearts cast down through fear of death, and there were hearts raised up by the desire of fame. These were flying like the mouse and those were catching like the serpent."

And the punishment of these vile infidels and of these traitors to the fidelity due to their master came upon them, and at one charge the army of Saif-Addoulat broke through them, and they took the road of flight, and if night had not come as a veil over their affairs, and as a fresh resource to them, all would have been involved in the rope of destruction, and cast down the precipice of sudden ruin. (Verse)

"If it had not been for the darkness and its fears upon which they relied their neck would have passed the night without its prop (*i. e.*, the body). Therefore let them praise the useful darkness and its advantage; for they are in safety and darkness is their defender."

And Abdul-Malik-Ibn-Núh and Fáík halted after that defeat at Bukhárá, and Bektuzún came to Nishapúr, and Abul-Kasim-Simjur went to Kohistán, and the star of the happiness of Saif-Addoulat arrived at the zenith of glory, and the

height of his dignity, and the perfection of his good fortune exceeded that of the pinnacle of the skies; and the kingdom of Khurasán and the inheritance of the royalty of the family of Sámán became prepared and concocted for him, and his rivals and opponents became dispersed and torn to tatters in the various provinces and asylums of the world (Verse)

"From the claws of the lions did he bear away the kingdom; from the greediness of the crocodiles he rescued the object of his wishes."

And after this event he marched towards Tús, lest Bektuzún and Simjur should unite together, and lest from their union some new injury should arise, and that confusion might not be produced; and Bektuzún through fear of this proceeding went on towards Jurjan, and the Sultán sent Arslán-Jadhib after him, in order that he might go upon his track, like the shooting stars after the foot-marks of evil spirits, and expel him from the regions of Khurasán. And he betook himself to this service; but the Sultán had included Tús in his computations, and therefore with most of his army left him for Tús, and went on his way, in order that he might inspect the revenue collectors, and renew fidelity in those districts.

And Bektuzún seized the opportunity of the absence of the Sultán, and returned to Nishapúr,

and began to advance the pretensions of Abdul-Malik to royalty, not recognizing the truth, that when the supporting columns of a kingdom have become decayed by the changeful hand of time, and when its foundations have become destroyed by reason of the lapse of many ages, no vain exertion and no fruitless endeavour can restore it; and that when the natural conformation differs from the usual symmetry it is impossible to restore it permanently to the common figure. And the result of all these proceedings was this, that the Sultán was compelled to endure renewed trouble and reiterated annoyance, lest they should by one blow gain head and preserve it. And he went out by the way of Abiward, and the army of the Sultán went on his track, so that he turned towards the road through the desert in the direction of Merú, and desired to fix himself in that city, and to entrench himself in that fortification; but the people of Merú having made opposition he plundered the city, and proceeded from the desert of Amil to Bukhárá, and when the plain of Khurasán was free from Bektuzún* and his followers, the Sultán sent Arslan-Jadhib unto Kohistan, that he might expel Abul-Kasim-Simjúr from those coasts, and might break down his expectation of restoration and prosperity whilst the cup was at his lips. Arslan then pro-

* The MS. repeatedly gives *Yektuzún*, but De Sacy prefers *Bektuzún*.

ceeded to Kohistan, and gave him battle, and defeating him expelled him unto the coasts of Tús; and the Sultán conferred the generalship of the army upon his brother Nasr-Ibn-Nasír-Addín, and sent him to Nishapúr, and proceeded to Balkh, and made Balkh his capital, and there took his seat upon the royal throne. And in this journey he went one day with certain of his guards on a hunting expedition to the frontiers of Meruward, and the Amír Ismaïl and Noshtagin-Káj, who was one of the nobles of Nasír-Addin, was in attendance, and the Sultán happened to look round and saw Noshtagin holding his hand ready upon his sword, and looking out for a signal and intimation from the Amír Ismaïl, and the Sultán by that action of Noshtagin discovered the treachery of the Amír Ismaïl, and perceived the hint he gave by a glance and the winking of his eye. However he (the Amír Ismaïl) had spread the carpet of hesitation upon that consultation, and the evidences of his doubt were manifest.

And the Sultán, when he returned, put Noshtagin to death and summoned his brother before him, and began to search into the particulars of the affair. And the Amír Ismaïl began craftily to extenuate the deceit of that traitor, and the vile mysteriousness of that deceiver. In consequence of this much discussion and conversation took place between them, and the Sultán perceived that it

would conduce to the preservation of the State and to the peace of the times to deposit Ismaïl with certain of the nobles of the Court in some place where he could be kept safely and be well guarded, knowing that two swords cannot be contained in one sheath, and that dissensions arise from the concurrence of two kings even upon one sheet of paper,* and that if there are two rams in one flock they will begin to butt at one-another. And the Sultán, at the time when the Amír Ismaïl had been removed from the castle of Ghazna, had, at an entertainment, entered upon free conversation with him, and had entered upon a gradual enquiry into his most hidden thoughts, and asked of him thus,—"If the accident of victory and the fortunate opportunity which has happened to me had happened to thee, and I had become a prisoner in thy hands, what course wouldest thou have pursued with me? and in what way wouldest thou have thought to have acted towards me?" The Amír Ismaïl, through the extreme mildness of his heart and equity of his disposition, replied, "I had this intention respecting you, to send you to some mountain-castle and to settle upon you whatever you might wish or desire with respect to your furniture, your attendants, your wives, and all the conveniences and comforts of life; and if you felt

* Or from the association of two kings upon one carpet, or board, or floor, &c., &c.

'any inclination, or wish, or desire for anything whatever I should have freely granted it to you." The Sultán, therefore, took the same measures with regard to him, and acted towards him according to the judgment of his own intention, and committed him to the care of the governor of Jurjan, and gave order that he should be guarded, but liberally provided with all comforts, and settled and commanded that all the means of enjoyment should be supplied to him, in the measure of his own will. And truly the Sultán was a man of perfect generosity and amiable disposition, with which virtues his royal garment was adorned and the robe of his intentions wonderfully embroidered; and he never alienated his brother from that place in his affections which was due to the feelings of kindred and of fraternal connection. And, moreover, in his treatment of individuals who were obviously guilty of great crimes and treachery, and who, in opposing him and acting contumaciously against him had been foremost, and had rendered themselves liable to pay the penalty of offences and shameful crimes, he, in the time of power and opportunity, would slacken the fire of anger and indignation with the water of mildness and forgiveness, and would overlook and receive excuses, and pass over errors and offences; and, if ever he took any strong proceedings in the way of punishing offenders, he proceeded according to that blessed proverb, that a

wise king ought to act with such prudence that, in a state of anger, he should inflict injury upon a man in such a way as that, in a state of good humour, he may be able to repair the wrong; for, in the destroying of anything, let *Him* only be active who is almighty to create, since it is impossible to make reparation when the spirit is overpowered and life destroyed, and destruction will not be formed again (Verse)

"Oh do thou confer pleasure and kindness who canst retain life or destroy it."

ACCOUNT OF THE ROBE OF HONOUR WHICH THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL, AL-KÁDIR-BILLÁH, SENT TO THE SULTÁN YAMIN-ADDOULAT.

The Commander of the Faithful, Al-Kàdir-Billáh sent to the Sultán a precious robe and a valuable jewel, such as no other king or sultán had been honoured with, from the palace of the spiritual sovereign, and granted to him the surname of *Yamîn-Addoulat-wa-Amin-Al-millat*,* a surname which had been treasured up in the treasury of the clement lord, and had been carefully preserved, for his sake, from being shared with others. And the Sultán was clothed with that robe of honour which had been woven for his exalted stature, and had

* *i. e.* Right hand of the empire and guardian of the religion.

been brought from that prophetical presence and abode of the Khiláfat for that object of generosity and happiness. And he sat down on the royal throne, and the nobles of Khurasán and the chiefs of the provinces at his levees, were arranged in ranks, and stood before his throne, and girded up their loins in service and obedience; and he gratified every one with due marks of favour and substantial ornaments, and he honoured them with valuable dresses and innumerable gifts. And the royal and kingly authority became established upon a firm basis, and the hearts of the nobles and the people, of the humble and of the great, became confirmed in obedience to him, and his circumstances became well arranged and under the canopy of his rule and the excellence of his system the affairs of the provinces of Khurasán were well settled, and happiness was sought under the good fortune of his government, and the benefits of his service, and the sanction of the Khiláfat, and the porch of security, and the splendid authority of the people of the house (of God) and the manifestation of the word of truth, exhibited its mission amongst the subjects of this kingly family; for every year Ghazna made, in the provinces of Hindostán, a free-will offering, by giving victory to the princes of faith, and by causing the depression of the enemies of Islam, and it became unto them the cause of the settlement of the State and of the establish-

ment of the government, and of the security of his affairs, according to that which hath been uttered by the exalted and glorious Korán: "O ye who believe, if ye support the cause of God He will support you and will strengthen your feet."

Account of the Return of Abdul-Malik-Ibn-Nuh unto Bukhárá.

When Abdul-Malik-Ibn-Nuh and Fáik arrived, after that defeat at Bukhárá, and Bektuzún formed a union with them, and the opposing armies became united, then the dream of recovery, and the hope of renewed success, and the desire of prosperity, again obtained the mastery over their minds, and they again began to entertain thoughts of renewing the quarrel and recommencing the fight; but, in the midst of this affair, Fáik, who was the upper packet in the matter, and the fringe of the garment, and the column of the whole building, succumbed to death, and thereby all their secret intentions were frustrated, and various indications of weakness and imbecility became visible in their counsels. And Ilek-Khán came to Bukhárá, and, for the purpose of plotting and deceiving, pretended to display friendship and attachment to Abdul-Malik, and said, "In adversity we make ill-will disappear. Although, in former times, the uprisings of these demons have suc-

ceeded, to a certain degree, in injuring the bands of affection and destroying the basis of intimacy, and hence some disagreeable events have arisen. 'Truly he hath eaten his brother's meat and hath not invited him to eat of it.' On account of my kindred to this house and on account of the establishment of causes for friendship I feel it incumbent upon me to guard the safety of this royal dynasty, and to experience anger and indignation on account of the entrance of misfortune upon the plains of this province. And since foreigners* have now entered the province, and are stretching forth the neck of desire over the ancient house and inherited throne of the family of Saman, it is incumbent upon me to repulse such an attack, and to oppose it is one of the necessary duties of my allegiance." They bought up these blandishments and became fascinated with his gilded words, and infatuating actions. And Begtuzún and Yanaltagín, and other generals and nobles, proceeded to meet him, and whilst they were sitting confidently he seized and bound them all, and gave up all their wealth, and beasts of burden, and furniture, to plunder. And Abdul-Malik, through his anguish, on account of this stratagem, and his vexation at this sudden event became distracted, and possessed no resource, except to take flight

* Alluding to Mahmúd, who had now, by the Khalif's grant, assumed the suzerainty.

and to hang his hand in the lap of trouble. And Ilek-Khan, upon Saturday, in the month Zil-Kaadat, in the year 389, arrived at Bukhárá and alighted at the government residence, and sent out spies who were charged to deliver Abdul-Malik into his hands. And he took him and sent him to Urgand, and he was kept guarded at that place; and thus the flame of the grandeur of the family of Sámán, at one blow, became lowered and their affairs approached destruction. "The foregoing ordinance of God is fulfilled in those who are destitute, nor can any change be found in that which God ordains."

An Account of the Expedition of Abu-Ibrahim-'bn-Ismaïl-'bn-Nuh, and of the Transactions which took place with him and Ilek-Khan, in Mawaralnahr, and with the General of the Army, Abul-Muzaffar-Nasr-'bn-Nasir-Addin-Sabaktagín, in Khurasan.

When Ilek-Khan took Bukhárá, Abu-Alhareth, and Abdul-Malik, and Ibrahim, and Abu-Yakub, the sons of Núh-'bn-Mansúr, fell into his hands; and he, moreover, took their uncles, Abu-Zakaria and Abu-Salih, and all the other branches of the family of Sámán; and he retained possession of them all and separated the brothers from each other, and kept them apart in prison, lest, if they had been together, they should have began to

plot and to seek the means of escaping. And Ibrahim took the robe* of a certain female who was employed about the household, and drew it over his head, and by means of that dress he fled from his residence, and his condition resembled the condition of that (person)† who dressed himself in female clothes and escaped from confinement, and who wrote these verses (Verse)

"I have come forth just as an arrow comes forth — an arrow son of the aim, according to the force, whether it be direct or doubtful.

"Upon me were woman's dresses, but beneath them was a manly mind; it was like a basket full of spear-points."

And Muntasir,‡ when he had escaped from prison, took refuge in the house of a certain old woman of Bukhárá, until the first heat of the news and the first impression of the event was a little abated, and until those who were seeking him put on the dress of despair and no longer felt anxious to find him. Then he went in this disguise to Khwarizm; and, when he was in safety, he resolved to seek revenge. And the rest of the chiefs of the dynasty of the family of Sámán betook themselves to him, and collected a complete army; and

* Or veil, shawl.

† كمبت. The translator is not satisfied as to the purport of this word.

‡ That is, Abú-Ibrahim (Muntasir).

Arslán-Balú, who was his Chamberlain, made him return to Bukhárá, where he took prisoner Jafar-tagin, with seventeen other of the principal lords and khans, and sent them to Jurjan. Upon this the others became dispirited and departed to join Ilek-Khan, and Arslán-Balú proceeded closely upon their track, as far as the borders of Samarkand, and there they came to blows, and, when he arrived at the bridge of Kohak, Tagin-Khan, Governor of Samarkand, on behalf of Ilek-Khán, was posted there, with a complete army, and some forces, which had been driven from Bukhárá (*i. e.*, by Arslán) had joined him; and they with one accord directed their course towards Arslán, nor did Arslán turn aside from them, but stood firmly to attack and engage them. And he broke through their ranks and carried away their property and heavy baggage as booty. And Muntasir came to Bukhárá, and the people of Bukhárá made great rejoicings at his arrival, and they congratulated one another.

And when Ilek-Khan observed these events he assembled his army and resolved to return. And Arslan-Balu came to His Highness Muntasir, and they perceived that the proceeding most suitable for that conjuncture and the most prudent resolution was this, that they should proceed to Amil-Shatt, and should collect the revenues of those provinces, and should direct their march, by the

way of the desert, to Abiward. And they also seized for their own use the troops of Abiward and the territory. And from that place they came to Nishapúr, and outside the gates of Nishapúr there arose battles between them and the Amír Nasr-'bn-Násir-Addin, but the Amír Nasr, on account of the number of their forces and the crowded multitude of their troops, resolved as a measure of bulwarking security, that, like a brilliant sun,* he would be veiled under the canopy of the family of Abbas. He set his face towards Merú on the dusky chariot of night, and passing by Nishapúr, travelled during all that night at an elephant's pace, under the young star of darkness, until, when the first streak of the dawn of morning appeared on the eastern horizon, he arrived at the frontiers of Jurjan, and from that place proceeded to Herát (Verse)

"The young† (horse) is no longer disgraced by the inspection of his mouth (in order to ascertain his age). Truly his courage is known confidently upon trust."

And when intelligence of this event reached the Sultán he forthwith marched, and came by a quick road to Nishapúr, and Muntasir when he received the news of the prosperous success of his standard went forward, and proceeded to Isfarain,

* Or like Jemshid. Here is some historical allusion.

† (Young) horseman, &c., here *horse*.

and wished to obtain some profit by selling the revenue and forestalling the taxes of that province; but he did not succeed, and finding it impossible to remain there, he proceeded towards the province of Shams-Almuálí-Kabús, and applied himself to procure succour from his Excellency Shams-Almuálí, who, on account of his former eminent dignity and venerable rank, was extremely pleased, and sent to him certain presents and donations, part of which consisted of ten Arabian horses with silver trappings, and with the upper part of the reins covered with gold, and thirty others with trappings of silver lace, and thirty housings of silk, and twenty mules with ornaments of gold and silver; and thirty mules of burden laden with precious carpets and rare merchandize, and with the productions of Tabaristán, and with furniture and vessels fit for royalty; and one thousand bales, each containing one thousand royal direms, and thirty thousand dinars of red gold, and fifty wardrobes adorned with splendid tapestry, (and cups with concealed handles*) (?) and precious trappings, and raw silks folded up, and Egyptian books. And the army gave unto him twenty well-prepared guards, who should be ready to fulfil his wishes, and his intentions, and (supply) his needs. And he said to him thus, "The most advisable plan at present is this,

* MS. doubtful.

that thou shouldest proceed to Ray, whilst I send my sons Darâ and Manuchhar to serve under your flag, since the throne of the kingdom of Ray is now undecorated (by a prince), and the affairs of that province are in confusion, and that province needs a victorious King, and a successful Emperor, and that a King should arise amidst them who might be the belt of the State. And as the army in that region is wavering, through differences of feelings, the confusion of the times, and the breaking off of authority, it is needful to use the stirrup of severity, and to reduce those provinces again under our rule, and for one to be seated upon the throne of command, whilst I here quietly enter upon arrangements, and think of some means of your returning to Khurasân, and how to claim your hereditary house." This intimation was favourably received, and, after offering the prayer for success, he gave orders to march, and he came down over against Ray, and the soldiers who were quartered in the city of Ray came into his camp, and brought pavilions to meet him. And Arslan-Balu and Abúl-Kasim-Simjur, and the other nobles of the State, sent traitors and beguiled them with gifts of ready money, and professions of service, until all began to disagree. And they diverted Muntasir from that plan, and said, "Thy glory and renown is too great for thee that thou should have any (ill) relations with or opposition to a community who

are thy subjects, and desire the happiness of serving thy flag, and who are affectionately disposed towards thee by the obligations of near kindred, or who have armed and joined thee as allies and feudatories." And with respect to them the opinion of a man of judgment was listened to who said, "Kabús would take us by the hand of thy chiefs and supporters, and would knead his scarcely-leavened dough in the oven which shall be found in the hand of thy followers and warriors; so that if the affair turns out according to his wishes, advantage may accrue unto him, or if (which God forbid) some evil eye should blight the undertaking, or some cause of weakness supervene, the fault may rest upon some person of the Court." Muntasir received this coloured and deceitful speech with favour, and marched from Ray, and proceeded by the way of Dámghán. And Dará and Manuchahar separated themselves again from his society, and proceeded to Jurján. Thus this design became abortive, and this decree was fulfilled, "Truly when God wills evil upon a people, then there are no means of repelling Him; nor is there for them any mediating deputy under Him."

And when Muntasir arrived at Nishapúr, the Amír Nasr was there, and he (Nasr) thought that if he refrained from then opposing Muntasir and delayed awhile, it would be impossible that any evil eye should interrupt his project, as upon occasion

of the first collision and the past occurrence. He therefore rose up and retreated towards Jurján. Thus in the month Shawal, in the year 391, Muntasir again took up his position at Nishapúr, and sent for the collectors of taxes, and began to demand money, and the produce of the revenue. And the General of the Army, Nasr-Ibn-Násir-Addín requested some men from the Sultán, who sent to his assistance the Chamberlain Altontash, who was Governor of Herát, with a complete army. And when he was reinforced by these troops he went towards Nishapúr; and Muntasir sent Arslan-Balú and Abúl-Kasim-Simjúr to fight with him, and between them there ensued many blows, and much slaughter; and the army of the Amír Nasr took vengeance on the army of Muntasir, and defeated them. "Yes, they have turned their backs in flight, and the word of God hath become effectually supreme." And the Amír Nasr came into Nishapúr, and the men of the city displayed gladness, and arranged ceremonies of triumph; and they scattered gifts of gold and silver like drops of rain. And Muntasir went by the way of Abiward, and the army of the Amír Nasr went after him, until they had driven him as far as the frontiers of Jurjan. And the Amír Shams-Alumuáli* sent on to repulse him two thousand men of the Kurdish

* *i. e.* Kabús, indignant that Muntasir should have rejected his advice and listened to the calumnies of the people of Ray.

tribes, that they might give him his answer, and expel him from the frontiers of the kingdom. Into this misfortune did Muntasir fall, and did not consider that he had committed a great fault in his determination at Ray, and that in opposing Kabús, and rejecting his sound advice he had lost the right road. And he became alienated from Arslan-Balu on account of the contentions which he caused, and on account of his assumed imperiousness over the affairs of the kingdom and in matters of importance. And through his injustice disputing words ensued, and this ill-feeling and malevolence obtained a firm and settled hold upon the mind of Muntasir, and they objected to him another fault which took place in the defeat of Nishapúr, saying that through the calumnies and envy of Abúl-Kasim-Simjúr he refused to renew the fight, but resolved upon inactivity. And this was the pretext for the augmentation of the ill-will of Muntasir, and his hatred increased to such a degree that he put Arslan-Balu to death. This event threw the whole army into confusion, and all moved the tongue of disavowal and aversion towards Muntasir. And Abúl-Kasim-Simjúr exerted himself to repair that state of affairs, and to mend that ragged cloak, and succeeded in quenching that fire, and extinguishing those burning embers, until all was quiet. And this uproar and disturbance was diminished, and they agreed to a design to be carried out in

the direction of Sarkhas. And the Prince of that country, who is called by the name of Pír*-Fakih, who was an ally and supporter of Muntasir, made in his favour offers of service, and gave him money, and provisions, and several regiments. And when they arrived at Sarkhas, and had been replaced in a prosperous condition by the money and revenues and property of Sarkhas, and by the assistance and abundance and liberality of the Prince,† (*literally the bailiff*), the Amír, commander of the army, Nasr, was convinced that their stay in that place was caused by their grasping covetousness and base designs; therefore he turned against them with his army, and Muntasir confronted him with his forces. A severe engagement ensued between the two parties, but the heavenly decree, and the Divine determination respecting changing the state of affairs, and altering all that could be altered was triumphant, and the happy breeze of the good fortune of the Amír Nasr blew from the benign quarter of the heaven above, and he struck the army of Muntasir against the wall of ruin, and scattered them into dust. And they brought Abúl-Kasim-

* Pír, literally, old man, but it is the usual name for the Mussulman saints in India and Affghanistân. (See the interesting pamphlet of M. Gascin de Tassy, "Sur la religion Musulmane dans l'Inde").—Fakih, *theologian, priest.*

† He appears to have been a kind of ecclesiastical prince. The Amír of Bukhárá still regards himself in that point of view.

Simjúr bound with a halter before the Amír Nasr; and in like manner the chamberlain Toztásh, who was the arm, and the efficient friend, and the faithful supporter of Muntasir, was taken prisoner. And the greater portion of the army were also taken captive, and all conducted to Ghazna in the robes of reproach and shame. And Muntasir, thus disgraced and ruined by repeated unlucky strokes of fortune, and by successive blows, became an undone wanderer; whilst the Amír Nasr, placing himself under the canopy of prosperity and might, the pledge of stability and victory, applied himself to the consolidation of his power. And Abu-Mansur-Thaalibi thus speaks in commemoration of this event (Verse)

"Time hath illuminated the white spot of fortune and hath let slip, against the followers of rebellion, the breaking of backs.

"The Lord of the World hath caused these sons of destruction to turn their backs,

"And hath judged amongst them in victory," &c.

And also this fragment was composed by Abu-Said, his friend (Verse)

"Unto the Amír Al-Muzaffar, wise and just, there is victory. Glorious in heroism and abundance he hath possessed empire with conquest."

And Muntasir after this defeat betook himself to the Gozz-Turks. These people greatly boasted

of their fidelity to the family of Sámán, and had been forward in favour and support unto them. They vied with each other in affording him a kind reception, and entered into his design with the utmost anxiety and respect, and girded up their loins to assist and defend him, and encouraged each other in a ready and zealous recognition of the glory of his ancient house and renowned grandeur. They accordingly proceeded in the service of his standard to the country of Ilek-Khán. And Ilek-Khán, when he received intelligence of the approach of Muntasir arose to resist him, and assembled a considerable body of troops out of the Turkish tribes, and came to the frontiers of Samarkand. The army of the Gozz-Turks thought upon the matter, and the result of their arrangements and resolution was this, that they chaunted the following (Verse)

"Truly they challenged us to come down and fight, therefore I came down first and my flags were borne against him, when he did not come down himself to battle."

And they made a night attack upon Ilek-Khán, and when the ship of the morning arrived from the whirlpool of darkness at the shore of the horizon, they fell upon his soldiers, and they made prisoners of all his officers, and put all the other men to the sword; and plundered and seized their furniture and tent baggage, and collecting together all their spoil, and the wealth and property which they had

obtained they returned, and they delivered up the prisoners which they had taken into the hand of Muntasir. Then a report arose that they wished to be reconciled (with the enemy), and Muntasir was alarmed and uneasy at the thought, and in the night-time he selected seven hundred of the most excellent and trusty of his cavalry, and departed from amongst the Ghozzes. And when they came to the banks of the river Jihún it was entirely frozen over, therefore he ordered that they should strew straw over the surface—thus they passed. And when the army of the Ghozzes arrived it was daylight, and the sun had risen and entirely scorched (and melted away) the marks of their passage, and destroyed them. Thus Muntasir arrived at Amil-Shatt, and sent a letter to the Sultán, in which he reminded him of the rights of his ancestors, and of the Sultán's feudal relation to them, and expressed many complaints of the heavy floods of sorrow and the large measures of extreme distress which had been his portion, and took refuge under the canopy of his kindness and humanity, and under the shadow of his compassion and favour, and gave the reins of obedience and guidance into the hand of his will and pleasure, and said (Verse)

"For my eye, which hath beheld thy portrait, thou art good; for my heart, depressed by sorrow, in thy love to me thou art good; with a soul which has possessed none of the

advantages of the Divine destiny I have looked upon all, and in thy love to me thou art good."*

"If by means of the law of thy clemency and the volume of thy generosity I should become partaker of the water of life, I will wear the ring of slavery in my ear, and I shall gird up the waistband of obedience around my loins, and if thou wouldest retain the darkness of my misfortunes under the shadow of the State, then shall I stand unmoved, like the sun, in thy light-streaming Court." In this manner did he paint the pages of this volume, and thus did he decorate the construction of the volume of this letter with royal pearls taken from the treasury of the imagination. But,† from the alarm which arose at the dread of the violence of the Ghozz Turks, he removed, and went to

* ازدیده که نقش تو نمودم تو بهي
و زدل که ترو کذاشتم تو بهي
و زجان که نداشت هیچ سودم نوشت
دیدم همه‌را و از مودم تو بهي

To mine eye, on which thy goodness still is painted, thou art dear;
To mine heart, which oft from misery's blows hath fainted, thou art dear;
To a soul forlorn, to sorrow born,
Which Heaven has grudged to cheer,
That, looking round, few friends hath found,
Oh, chieftain, thou art dear.

† *i. e.* Meanwhile, before he received the Sultan's reply.

Merú, and sent a person to Abu-Jaafar, son of Khahar, seeking assistance in restoring his affairs and relieving his necessity, requesting him to supply him with the gift of arms and necessaries. But he was one of that crowd of base and vile persons who had arrived at power in the days of the government of the family of Sámán, and had obtained worldly wealth and prosperity. His ignoble disposition, mean notions, and low-born baseness, restrained him from performing the good action of shewing pity unto, and zealously bestirring himself in the service of, so royal a Prince; therefore he drew the hand of rejection over the face of his request; nor was he satisfied until he had departed, and he came out and displayed opposition to him. And the guards of Muntasir in a furious and tempestuous onset broke him up, and dissevered his troops like the letters of words separated from one another. Muntasir therefore betook himself unto the direction of Abiward, and arrived alone at Abiward, in the year 394. And the Sultán displayed the most striking proofs of compassion, and the splendour of a most generous disposition, and exhibited the most glorious purity and sincerity in receiving his message, and treating his messenger with honour, and allowing him the recognition which he had hoped for. He sent to him the number of troops that were required, and gave a commission to the son of Kháhir-Zadah to

perform all that was necessary for his service. And by dint of necessity, and at the end of his teeth, girded up his loins to assist Muntasir. He therefore attained his wish, without paying and without praising; but the spot of disgrace thus became apparent upon the face of his fortune, so that the consequences of his error and fault lasted many years. And Abú-Nasr, one of the lord chamberlains of the Sultán was posted at that place;* and when Muntasir arrived at those borders he rose up to support his pretensions, and displayed the utmost zeal in the service of his standard. But the mind of the people of Nissa† was averse to this end; they suspected that this movement of Abú-Nasr would not give content, and they wished to beware of the imputation of participating in his offence. They therefore sent a letter to the King of Khwarízm, and requested assistance. He accordingly sent Abú-Fazl, a chamberlain, who was one of the most distinguished men of his Court, in order that he might effect a repulse of the danger, and act as an expedient rectifier of the injury of that army. Upon this Abú-Nasr removed the veil from his head, and openly appearing in the service of the flag of Muntasir, they proceeded together

* *i. e.* Abiward.

† Probably situated on the site where the ruins of Oodecnuggar are now seen, near the modern village of Darapúr, on the banks of the Hydaspes.—BURNES.

side by side against the enemy. And in the middle of a gloomy night, when a cold and strong wind discharged the eyesight from the office of discerning individuals and distinguishing bodies (forms), and when the darkness blocked up the pupil of the eye, a battle took place between them and the army of Khwarizm under Abú-Fazl. And until the falcon of the morning opened his wings from the nest of the horizon they continued to cast at each other swords, and arrows, and spears. And when the bride of day washed off the black dye of the darkness, Abú-Nasr, the chamberlain, and the son of Hisám-Addoulat Tásh, with a considerable body of the allies of Muntasir, lay slain upon the field of battle, and the remainder were dispersed. And Muntasir went to Isfarayin, the inhabitants of which place, dreading the trouble into which they would be exposed by aiding him, rose up against him. Muntasir therefore quitted that city, and with a body of men who adhered as closely to him as a mill-working bullock to his mill, went on, and by the most direct roads proceeded on his return, until he arrived at the confines of Sarkas. Here they halted for a day, until the soldiers who had been separated from him came up to him, when he passed over the Jihún, and arrived at the shore of the Kayta. And the General commanding the cavalry at Bukhárá went out to meet him and oppose him, and he not possessing any means of

escape halted to engage him. A severe battle ensued, and Muntasir himself by great exertion narrowly escaped with his life. And the General of that place (Bukhárá?) * . . . . and took with him the army stationed there, and therewith again expelled Muntasir from the city of Darband-púr. And the thread that united his troops in a body was broken, and they were all dispersed. But the son of Ibn-Dar, who was Military Governor of Samarkand, arose to support Muntasir, and joined him with three thousand men. And the principal citizens of Samarkand sent unto him three hundred chosen Turkish soldiers, with a large sum of money, for the purpose of effecting a junction with him; and a body of the Ghozz tribe also joined him. And thus by their aid he again became strong, and the flame of his affairs again mounted high. And when Ilek-Khán received information of the recovery of his power, and of the consequent shaking of his own authority, he applied himself to repulse him. The armies engaged at the village Burband, on the border of the territory of Samarkand, when the Khán was put to flight, and the army of the Ghozzes collected abundant booty and treasure beyond computation. This

* Some obscurity in the Persian MS.; but, from the Arabic, it seems that he again approached Bukhárá, "fell into the mouth of the fire," and moved about, harassed and confused, until Ibn-Dar joined him; but the translator found difficulty in this passage.

event occurred in the month of Shaaban, in the year 394. The Khán retreated to his own territory, where he reassembled his army, and again proceeded to attack Muntasir. (But by this time the tribes of the Ghozzes had separated from him, and taken the road unto their own homes and residences, and were occupied in the division of the spoil.) The troops engaged in a plain which is between Darak and Javas. And just as the two armies engaged, and the two bodies of troops met, Abul-Hasan-Ták, with five thousand men of his army, treacherously betrayed Muntasir, and deserted to the party of the Khán, and Muntasir deprived of all hope was routed, yet he continued to resist the Khán and his army, for the purpose of vengeance. And from the clouds of (striking) swords the hills and the plains became full of torrents of blood, and from that body of men a perfect satiety of gluttony and a rich banquet resulted for the lions and the vultures. And Muntasir came to the bank of the Jihún, and finding no boat, he joined some trees together, and thus escaped from the army of the Khán, and passed over the water. And he seized all that he found in those coasts and cultivated lands, and shared it with his army. And he himself went by the way of the wilderness to the bridge of Zaghul. They informed the Sultán* of his arrival, who commanded that they

* The Sultán considered himself delivered from all relations

should speedily resist him, before he could arrange affairs, or draw the matter to a head. He therefore came to Balkh. And he sent Farighún-'bn-Muhammad, with forty standards of select officers, to banish his band, and cut down his iniquity. And Muntasir retreated from them, and went in the direction of Kohistan. But in all the world he found no place of refuge and no prospect towards which he could direct himself, for wherever he turned his face he found the dragon of misfortune opening his mouth against him, and on all sides to which he could hasten the lion of misery extended his claws against him. Thus he ran round in a circle, and when he arrived at Kohistan, the General of the troops, Nasr, and Arslan-Jazib, Prince of Tús, and Toghanjak, Prince of Sarkhas, hurried after him. For fear of them he directed his course to Jumand, and from that place came to Borstam. And Shams-Almuáli-Kabits sent two thousand men of the royal body-guards to repulse him, in order that they might hurry him away from those countries. He accordingly retreated to Bibar, and from thence came to Nisa; but the son of Sarkhak-Samáni wrote a letter to him, and deceived him with lying promises, and treacherous words, and promised him the assistance and support and friendship of Ilek-Khán. He, beguiled with

of feudal allegiance, by the conduct of Muntasir, in ravaging his territory.

the hope which these blandishments afforded, marched into the province of Bukhárá, and when he arrived at Chah-Hamad his army became wearied with their lengthened marches, and with the constant opposition of unlucky fortune, and becoming dispirited with the long continuance of war and battles they deserted him, and went to Sulaiman and Safi, who were chamberlains of Ilek-Khán, and informed him of the weak state of his horses, and the low ebb of his supplies, and scanty means of resistance, and of the stopping up of all sources of succour. And when Muntasir heard of this, and when many of the soldiers came around his tent, he for a short time remained as if intending to await them and resist them; but he afterwards betook himself to flight. And they took his brothers and his chief friends and officers prisoners and carried them to Urkand. And Muntasir retreated to the encampment of Ibn-Bahaj-Arabi. Here one named *Máh-Rói* had been placed over them, on behalf of the Sultán. This man incited (the tribe) to pursue him. And when night arrived the vile Arabs of this Arab made a sudden attack upon him, and gave his precious life to the wind, and spilt his noble blood upon the ground. His fate is described in the following verses of Abu-Tamám (Verse)

"The youth hath perished beneath javelins and deadly

blows. He stood firmly upon the position of victory, although victory failed him,

"Nor did he die until he died striking blows with the sword,

"Nor until continual thrusts of the javelins destroyed him.

"At the last throes of death he firmly set his foot, and said unto her, 'Beneath thy sole is the Resurrection.' What hath come upon him hath come upon him, but glory is upon his black robe. Yet the only reward paid to him was his shroud. His pleasant gardens have passed away from the pure-robed one, nor is the banquet of the brave prolonged, since the grave casts upon them the evil eye. God's blessing be upon thee unchangeably. So I have seen that long life is not for the noble and warm (hearted)!"

And they buried his remains in the marshy ground in the irrigated country of Mardam. This event happened on the first day of the month Rabiah, in the year 395.

And when the news of this occurrence reached the Sultán, he seized the perpetrator and put him to a cruel death, and plundered the encampment of Ibn-Bahaj. Thus at one blow the lofty flame of the house of the Sámánides sunk down, and the star of their empire fell. But God directs all things according to his fore-knowledge.*

* It is to be presumed that the remaining princes of the family of Sámán were massacred by Ilek-Khán and the Sultán Mahmúd.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILY OF THE SÁMÁNIDES AND THE DURATION OF THEIR GOVERNMENT, UNTIL THE TIME THAT THE KINGDOM REVERTED TO THE SULTAN YAMIN-ADDOULAT.

The duration of the reign and authority of the family of Sámán over Khurasán, and Mawaralnahr, and over certain other territories of Sistán, and Karman, and Jurján, and Ray, and Tabaristán, as far as to the borders of Ispahan, which were under their government for various periods of time was one hundred and two years and sixteen days. The first King of this family was Ismaíl-Ibn-Ahmad, who seized upon Amr-Lays, in the territory of Balkh, and succeeded to the kingdom early on Saturday, in the middle of the month Rabia, the last in the year 287. He possessed the kingdom for the space of eight years, and he succumbed (died) at Bukhárá, on the night of Tuesday, the fourteenth of the month Safar, in the year 295. His son Abu-Nasr-Ahmad-Ibn-Ismaïl took his seat upon the throne in his stead. He was King six years and six months, and was killed by his guards on the night of Thursday, the twenty-sixth day of the month Jumadhi-Al-Akhar, in the year 302. His son, Nasr-Ibn-Ahmad was his heir and successor, who for thirty years prosperously held the highest station and the chief authority. After him his son Núh-'bn-Nasr, surnamed Al-Hamid, took his seat upon the royal throne, reigning eight

years, three months, and seven days, and deceasing at Bukhárá, on Tuesday, the nineteenth day of Rabia-Al-Akbar, in the year 343, his dignity devolved upon his son, Abdul-Malik-'bn-Núh, who governed seven years, six months, and eleven days; and on Thursday, the eleventh Shawwál, in the year 350, he fell from his horse and resigned his life. His son Mansúr-'bn-Abdul-Malik, surnamed Sadid, succeeded, and struck the relief guard (drum) of royalty for fifteen years and nine months, dying at Bukhárá, on Tuesday, the eleventh Shawwál, in the year 365. His son Núh-'bn-Mansúr, surnamed Ar-Ridha, sat on the musnard, reigning twenty-one years and nine months. He went to the neighbourhood of mercy, on Friday, the thirteenth of Rajib, in the year 387, and his son Abul-Harith-Mansúr-'bn-Núh became King. He reigned one year and seven months, and on Wednesday, the eighteenth of Safar, in the year 389, was blinded and imprisoned by the hand of Baktúzún, at Sarkhas, and the investiture was conferred upon his brother Abdul-Malik-'bn-Núh, who brought the city to the ground, until Bukhárá was taken by the hand of Ilek-Khán, and the kingdom of Máwarán-nahr fell from his hand, and the duration of his affair was eight months and seven days. During these days the victories of the kingdom and royalty of Yamin-Addoulat and Amin-Almillat commenced; and subsequently as time advanced,

the tablet of his kingdom was gladdened, and the flame of his empire blazed, and the star of his prosperity rose to a degree of happiness and power, until the pulpits of Islám became illuminated by the might of his august surnames, and his decree was current as destiny in all tracts and portions of the world; for God maketh royalty to come unto whom He willeth, and God is bounteous and wise! (Verse)

"The bridegroom of his kingdom holds her fast in his embrace, that she may imprint kisses upon the lips of the brilliant scimitar. Of a hundred heroes it is one like thee, to whom is given the cutting sword and the wish-winning arm."

ACCOUNT OF THAT WHICH HAPPENED BETWEEN NASIR-ADDIN-SABAKTAGÍN AND KHALAF-AHMAD, BOTH AS REGARDS THEIR DIFFERENCES AND THEIR FRIENDSHIPS, UP TO THE TIME WHEN THE SULTAN YAMIN-ADDOULAT WRESTED THE KINGDOM FROM HIS HANDS, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE WARLIKE INROADS UPON INDIA WHICH ENSUED.

The retreat of Khalaf-Ahmad and his banishment from his home, and the anxious endeavours of the Amír Sadid-Mansúr-Ibn-Núh, for the defence and support, and preservation of his kingdom, have already been brought out to manifestation, up to those days when the affairs of Khurasán became confused and shaken, and the whole kingdom was disturbed. But he remained sitting in perfect quietude, in his own land, and

was eminent for his worldly treasures. And the way of perverseness obtained the mastery over his intellect, and brought him from a condition of vigour and virtue into a state of crime. And when the King of India entertained designs against the dwellings of Islam, and Nasir-Addin rose up to repulse them, in the manner described in the contents of this book, then since Khalaf-'bn-Ahmad found Bost empty, he sent an army to that place, and caused the public prayers to be offered and the coin struck in his name therein, and seized upon all the money which had been collected as the revenue of that country. But when Nasir-Addin returned from that battle with Mansúr, and drew near to Bost, the chiefs of the city deserted Khalaf and departed. And Nasir-Addin was angry, on account of his carelessness and his treachery, and entertained an intention of proceeding towards Sistán. But Khalaf sent a person and sought to win him by soothing excuses and by unacceptable words, and said, "This audacity proceeded from the most sincere duty, and even if a garrison of cavalry did enter the city of Bost from me, it was done for the sake of guarding thy territory and protecting thy subjects; and if the produce of the taxes were taken it was taken for the sake of thy treasury. But if, on this account, some dust has settled upon the border of the illustrious mind, I shall regard myself as

obliged to offer expiation for this crime and to pay a tax for this impertinence." Nasir-Addin, from his extreme generosity, mild goodness, and amiable disposition, took the path of indifference and of holding himself above taking notice of such things, and replaced the sword of vengeance in its sheath, and returned to his usual state of contentment. But he asked for the return of the revenue-money of Bost, which property the other sent back with a good-will. Thus the state of affection was cleansed from the smears of hatred, and the distinguished mind was settled, until those days when Abu-Ali-Simjur gave battle at the gate of Nishapúr, in the manner which has been declared. And Khalaf displayed words of friendship, offering the aid of friends and the conquest of enemies, and good evidences of a desire for the alliance and prosperity of Nasir-Addin. And he girded up his loins and devoted himself and his army, and his property and his goods, to the vindication of the rights of Nasir-Addin. But, however he might outwardly assist and favour the success of Nasir-Addin, his inward object was Abú-Alí, and his aim was to obtain vengeance for the mutual injuries which had long since occurred between them. And Khalaf proceeded in the service and in the aid of the flag of Nasir-Addin, as far as to Bushanj. And Nasir-Addin left him at that place; and commanded him to repose himself from the trouble of

the journey, and from all annoyance of mind. And he took his army with himself, and went to Tús, to fight with Abú-Alí, until he defeated him. And his mind became at rest from that affair, and he sent back the army of Khalaf with honour and caresses, and flattering words. And thus the path of their affection and the fountains of their friendship remained free from the mutations of time and the pollution of accident, from the disputes of deceit and the impurities of dissimulation, until the time when Nasir-Addin proceeded towards Mawaralnahr, for the purpose of assisting the Prince Ridha-Núh-'bn-Mansúr, and in order to repulse Ilek-Khán. And, under his direction, affairs, by the benignity of peace and security, remained free from open rent or violence. But Khalaf, in the midst of this state of things, wrote kind letters to Ilek-Khán, and began to deceive him and lead him astray, and to stir him up to attack and estrange himself from Nasir-Addin. And he began to stretch forth the neck of covetousness for the territory of Bost and the provinces annexed thereto, and it was reported that an expression publicly fell from him, that he repented of his enmity to Abú-Alí, and that, in this point, he blamed Nasir-Addin, and said, "To attack noble princes and ancient royal families (is an act) which will never be blest, and to advance upon help-requiring and needy kings is odious and culpable."

At these reproaches, Nasir-Addin was in a rage and determined to seize upon the territory of Sistán. But Abul-Fath-Bosti used his utmost endeavours, by means of various acts of kindness and indications of attachment, to put a stop to this ill-will and to banish this suspicion. And he attributed all these reports to the malice of false speakers, and said, "Some hearts are like birds which fly in the air, and whom we cannot suppose that we shall capture, except by the use of craft; but when they fall into the snare and our object is joined to attainment then there is a further necessity for exertion, to preclude the opportunity of their escape or of letting them fly away, and that we may not have the annoyance of losing them. Such is the case with the hearts of friends, who may come to our hand by skill, by the diffusion of manœuvreings and by the employment of management, and who have become bound to us by benefits and kindness. For one heart-burn they are alienated and the highways of affection are darkened." He then brought forward, in proof of his assertion, the following text of the Koran, "O ye who believe there comes to you some false prophet, then ye become rebellious and place yourselves in the way of folly, so that you wake one morning full of repentance for that which you have done." He then mentioned to him the interpretation of these verses and further confirmed

them, by the evidence of various histories and tales, so that he began to recover of his hatred, and laid aside his haste for meeting and exposing him. And Abul-Fath-Bosti recorded these verses in confirmation of these counsels, and as a gloss upon these events (Verse)

"If thou dost wish to win the love of a brother's heart,
"And to gain his whole devotion and affection,
"Then cause him to partake of the good wherewith God hath prospered thee,
"And to enter into thy blessings, by the participation of love.
"Dost thou not see the bird of the air? how she loves to pick up the grain,
"In order to divide it, bit by bit, amongst the progeny of her cherished nest;
"Even so no one possessed of mind and sense will expect to win the love of hearts without *his grains*."

And Khalaf, upon this point, sent letters to His Highness Nasir-Addin, filled with excuses for these transactions, and with endeavours to smooth down his declarations. And the Amír Nasir-Addin listened to these apologies with a favourable ear, and turned round upon him the head of sincere friendship and ancient regard. And for the rest of the life of Nasir-Addin all the offices of affection remained settled between them, and all the demonstrations of fidelity and devotion were preserved with unshaken truth. But after the event (death) of Nasir-Addin, they brought to the

hearing of the Sultán his former intention (respecting attacking Sistán), and intimated that, in his subsequent conduct to Khalaf, he had only put on the guise of satisfaction, and that he could be spoken of as figured in these verses (Verse)

"Tell those who remain in this world after those who have passed away, that in the next world there is prepared for them that which is like what hath already been."*

These words made a deep impression upon the mind of the Sultán, and the arrow of this scandalous remark fully reached the middle of the target, and he kept these words within his heart, until the time when an opportunity of alluding to it occurred. And when the kingdom of Khurasán became settled in the possession of the Sultán, and meddlers were removed, and the various parts of the kingdom were freed from the dust of uproar and confusion (Khalaf) then, during the sickness that prevailed in the kingdom, and at the time of the last illness that befell Nasir-Addin, sent his son Tahir to Kohistan, and obtained possession of Kohistan and Bushanj. Now Bushanj was one of the annexations of Herát, and was numbered as one of the estates of Bagrajak, the uncle of the

* That is, greater success and happiness in this world will be the cause of greater happiness hereafter. Mahmúd, therefore, desired to carry out his father's design, that the merit of suggesting it might profit him. This appears to be rather a Hindú than a Muhammadan notion.

Sultán; and, as it was one of his best sources of revenue, Bagrajak requested assistance from the Sultán, that he might release his territory from the hand of violence, and return a reply of opposition and expulsion. To this the Sultán consented, and Bagrajak went to Bushanj, and Tahir came out to oppose him. A sharp contest ensued between them, but the end of the affair was that Tahir took to flight, and Bagrajak proceeded after him and killed his guards, and plundered his goods and heavy baggage. But, having drank several cups of wine, the fantasies of drunkenness obtained the mastery over him, and the eyes of clear vision and of self-command, through the carelessness of intoxication, became unable to fight with any one, so that he cast himself into the precipice of folly and error. And Tahir wheeled round his horse and cast him down from his saddle, at one blow, and came down and took his head. Upon this, both armies became dispersed and put to flight; but Tahir collected his own troops and came to Kohistan. And the Sultán was extremely disturbed upon the intelligence of this event, and was grieved at the affair of the son of Khalaf, and at the thought of his being hemmed in by sorrow, and darkly walking amidst the dangers of calamity, and falling headlong into the deep fissures of care, and that he should be like an ant, whose wing is the cause of its injury, or like the serpent, which,

although the wrestler of death, struts as a poet in the streets (*i. e.*, dances to music).* And he wrote these parabolic verses (Verse)

"Have the Persians ever recorded, in their histories, any thing like this?

"Have the Arabians, in their times, ever beheld any thing like this?

"They said, 'Behold the camel, when his end draws nigh,

"'Walks round and round the well, until the rope is destroyed.'"

And, in the new moon of the year 390, he came to Sistán, in order to take vengeance for this occurrence. But Khalaf took refuge in the citadel of the fortress of Asphabad, a fortress which was the companion of the sign Arcturus and a comrade of the skies; the clouds pitched their tents upon the lap of its basement, and the stars revolved around the edge of its summit; the new moon was like the gilded ball (or finial) upon the top, and the planet Saturn was like the star-shaped ornament inserted into the threshold of this castle (Verse)

"Such was its height that, from its loftiness, you would not be able to distinguish between a fire-eyed rocket† and the body of the planet Saturn."

* *i. e.* Sports with ruin.

† آتش دیده بان. Perhaps the use of this word may have encouraged the idea that artillery was known in Mahmúd's age.

And Khalaf remained hemmed in within this citadel, without comfort, and bade adieu to the delights of life and to sleep of the eyes, and, through the darkness of these circumstances and the horror of these events, lost all tranquillity and saw no means of arranging the affair, except by lamentation, and the resignation of his kingdom, and humiliation. He therefore offered to the Sultán, by way of a preliminary offering, six thousand dinars of red gold, and, in addition, any suitable pledge, and, at the same time, entreated an accommodation. The Sultán, although he was determined to obtain full possession of Sistán, yet, for the present, in order to secure a better time for the design of conquest which he entertained, resolved to accommodate that affair, and accepted that redemption money from Khalaf, and loosened the reins, and turned his face towards the countries of India, and set forward unto the territory over against Parshawar,* in the midst of the land of Hindustan. And intelligence reached him that Jaibal had collected and equipped an army, and had set forward to meet the standards of Islám. Upon this, the Sultán marched forward, for the protection and support of Islám and religion, with fifteen thousand chosen cavalry, and proceeded onwards with firm intention and sincere confidence

* Parshawar or Parashawar, *i. e.*, Peshawir.

But this vile infidel advanced in opposition to the standards of the Sultán with eight thousand cavalry and thirty thousand infantry, and three hundred elephants. The earth groaned under the pain of their boots. And he was bewitched by the multitude of his troops and the strength of his army and forces, so as to forget the victorious power and strength of God (may His majesty be glorified), and the wondrous influence of that verse of the Koran, "As for you with a small troop you have vanquished a large troop by the word of God." And when the distance between the two armies was but small, the infidel began to delay the commencement of the battle and the onset, in order that the rear of the troops, and those men of the army who were coming up behind the others should arrive. The Sultán perceived this stratagem, and hasted forward, and wrested the power of choice from his hand. Upon this, the ranks arranged themselves, and prepared to march forward, and begin the fight. Throughout the atmosphere a veil of pitch proceeding from the hands of the balancing warriors was drawn overhead, and the wishes of the male spears of Islám, in demanding in marriage as wives the lives of all on that field, received a perfect accomplishment, and their earnest intentions in thrusting through the breasts, and in pressing forward the front ranks of those accursed wretches attained reality. Thus at the time of

mid-day nearly five thousand carcases of the infidels cut in half by the sword lay upon the field of battle, as food for dogs, and as a gift for wolves, and fifty elephants were cut down by the stroke of arrows and of swords. Moreover, they seized Jaibal, with all his family and children and kindred, and a considerable number of his intimate officers, in the snaring rope of violence, and brought them as prisoners before the Sultán. (Verse)

"The fire of the dread of the king produced smoke in the land of India, and from that smoke their cheeks became as black as pitch."

And so many necklaces were taken from the necks of the children, set with precious stones, glittering pearls, and valuable rubies, that the appraisers valued them at two hundred thousand dinars of red gold. In like manner, similar precious stones were found on the necks of the wounded and the slain, so that the army of Islám obtained abundant wealth and unlimited riches from their booty, and from their spoil, and near a hundred thousand children and young people and girls were obtained from that country, and all those provinces of India submitted to the Sultán which are on the side of Khurasán, inclining towards the kingdoms of the west. This victory took place on Thursday, the eighth of the month Muharram, in the year 392, and the news of it proceeded through

the most distant horizons. And after the cessation of the blaze of war and the extinguishing of the coals of engagement, the Sultán was of opinion that he might dismiss the cursed one, with the brand of disgrace and the robe of loss and captivity, into the provinces and huts of his country. And he made friendship with him, and took fifty head of elephants from him, and took his son as a hostage for the confirmation of his promise, and dismissed him to his own country. And when he arrived at the midst of his own territory a letter came to his son, stating that his father had become afflicted with the disease of regret, and that he had clothed himself with the robe of calamity, and that his fortune had become polluted with the spot of inferiority and the distortion of shame, and that he would drink the cup of death, and be boiled in the hot water of hell. Now in mid-India it had been a long time established as a rule that if any king fell as a prisoner into the hands of the Muslims he should no longer hold his kingdom, and that no more allegiance or duty should effectually appertain to him. Jaibal for this reason drew away his skirt from the power of holding the kingdom, and shaved his head, and threw himself into the fire, and went unto the lowest of the pits of hell. And the Sultán for the second time renewed the enjoyment of the racy wine of conquest and the gladness of sacred warfare, and desired to add a fellow to that victory, and a pledge

to that golden deed. He therefore commanded the army to fly forth into the provinces of Hindustan, and took possession of those territories. And with regard to all the soldiers of India in the hills and the castles of those frontiers who stirred up violence, and wickedness, and perverseness, he made them all the food of swords and the subjects of justice; and he claimed the imputation of merit for having entirely purified those places from their filthy ungodliness, and thus with glorious victories, and illustrious conduct, and solid power, and distinguished conquest, he arrived at his capital, making the rosy cheek of Islám brilliant with the rosy blush of victory, and he broke the back of these innovators* and idolators with the sword of vengeance.

In the midst of all these transactions, Khalaf-'bn-Ahmad appointed his son Tahir to be his heir, and entrusted unto him the keys of his treasuries, and gave him up the keys of his provinces, and became a hermit, and betook himself to the service of God, and requested to be allowed the ragged habit, and asked to be released from the kingly office; for he saw that this was the only contrivance whereby the cup of the calamity-encircling (anger) of the Sultán might be driven far away from him. But, when these events were passed,

* The Musalmáns declare that idolatry is an innovation upon original Monotheism.

he began to repent of what he had done, and felt remorse and shame for having left royalty and declined the throne, and felt unable to endure or to support the public declaration and revelation of his error which had taken place, and of the event which had occurred. He, therefore, contrived another trick, and feigned himself sick, and called his son before him, in order to renew his will, and in order to communicate some explanations, together with his last farewell. And he placed some of his chief officers in ambush, until the time of his arrival; and they came like a dream to the edge of the mountain-path, and bound him fast, and cast him into a dungeon. And one day they took him dead out of that prison, and said that he had killed himself. But Tahir-'bn-Zainab, and the other chiefs and generals who beheld that event, began to be extremely averse in their minds from Khalaf, and in their inmost hearts inclined to hatred to him and his family, and bound around their foreheads the garland of rebellion against him, and seized upon the city which was the seat of his government, and caused the public prayers to be celebrated, and the coin to be struck decorated with the titles of the Sultán,* and published a document, recognising his claim. And they sent

* The history of Khalaf has been extracted from Mirkhond and published; Mirkhond quotes Utbi and his Persian Translator.

a declaration of all these events to the Sultán, and implored him to afford them the opportunity of entering into his permanent service. And the Sultán received their entreaty with favour, and he called them all to his presence, and addressed kind words to them. And, in the year 393, all these provinces became enrolled in the royal registry and taxation-books of the Sultán.* And he entertained a design of proceeding in the direction of Sistán, in order to cut off the primary source of these disputes.

(And he especially addressed himself to the destruction) of certain lofty fortresses, each so high that from its summit the sign of the virgin could be seen, and the angelic hymns could be heard, and surrounding each a moat or ditch of immense depth was dug, that if the crane were to penetrate to its bottom he could reach to the fountain-reservoir of the waters that supply the whole globe of the earth. And the army of the Sultán surrounded this fortress, as exactly as a circumference encircles the centre, and, by the assistance of their own hands, they heaped together abundance of thousands of handsfull of dirt, and branches and arms of the trees which were around that place, and filled up the depth of that ditch, and enlarged it so

* Thus Sistán, as well as Bukhárá, fell to the Sultán, but he addressed himself to complete his conquests by the capture of the forts.

as to be a pleasant circus* for cavalry and infantry; and the horses and the elephants of the Sultán earnestly exerted themselves for the destruction of that castle, and in making a breach in that wall, and each one of them put on the girdle of unparalleled zeal in his endeavours to seize that fortress. But the followers of Khalaf exerted themselves to repulse them, and all the excess of iniquity blazed forth; but the greater number of the elephants joining together dragged away the gate of the citadel by mere force, and cast it up into the air, and a considerable number of the officers of Khalaf were slain, but the rest fled into the interior (keep), and stood up to repel the attack. And Khalaf came from the place where he was to contemplate the event, and to witness the affair. And he saw the ruin of the place, and the obstinate defence of the forts, perceiving that the whole surface of the earth was like a stormy sea of waves of human demons; and embodied devils. And he saw that every one of the elephants took with his trunk before his eyes an individual by his decorated back and threw them up into the air the height of two spears, and when they descended they divided them whilst in the air into two parts, and crushed them beneath their feet; and they made a fulcrum with their shoulder, and struck against the fortress,

* *i. e.* Open clear battle-field or area.

and took it from its basis. And when Khalaf saw all this transaction, his soul nearly went out of his body, from his extreme fear and terror, and he cried out for help and asked for quarter. And the Sultán, through the generosity that was innate in his pure disposition, gave him quarter, and placed the sword of vengeance in the sheath. And Khalaf stretched forth his hand full of jewels and ornaments and gifts, and cast himself before the Sultán, and rubbed his white hairs in the dust, and filled the carpet of the presence chamber with the offerings of jewels, and scattered around so many pearls that the light veiled the brilliancy of the sun, and made the eyes dim-sighted. And moreover, in praising the good actions of the Sultán, and in expatiating upon his renewed mercy and returning favour, Khalaf unfolded the book of self-blame and the exhibition of his Majesty's pardon and forgiveness to the utmost degree. And the Sultán, in the generosity of his dignity and in the exaltation of his rank, displayed the marks of his merciful breath, and restored Khalaf to his honours, and drew the pen of forgetfulness over the surface of past evil deeds, and he relinquished to him all the claim to the treasures in the citadel. And he resigned to him the chief part of the property and provisions of that place, in order that he might carry out whatsoever he wished, according to his free choice, and might make himself happy in his

residence, and in his abode, and (consented) that his home might be in any of the provinces of the Sultán that he might wish, and they left it to the convenience of his choice, and to the computation of his preference, and to the calculation of his fortune. And he chose the territory of Jurján,* on account of the convenience of the air and the water of that country. And the Sultán sent him to that place with the utmost respect, and he reposed for a space of four years under the shadow of that peacefully-quiet region. And after that time the flattering advance which he had written unto Ilek became known, and the Sultán, in order to preserve the peace of the State, sent him unto the fortress of Jurdin, and there he remained until his appointed time according to the Almighty's will arrived, and the volume of his life received its last seal in the month of Rajib, in the year 399. And the Sultán gave a royal order that all the property which he had left behind him should be given up unto his son Amír Abu-Hass. And Abu-Mansur-Thaalabi in his poem, descriptive of all these affairs of the diminishing of the dignity and the diminution of the kingdom of Khalaf, says thus (Verse)

" (There are some whose obstinacy age will not wear down; there are some whose prosperity the hand of time will not

* Rather Juzjan, both here and elsewhere, on the authority of M. de Sacy, who declares that Jurján is a great error in the MSS. Juzjan is on the road between Herát and Balkh.

render gentle and meek). Dost thou behold Khalaf, Senator of Kings in might?—now a slave unto him who hath conquered the impregnable fortresses of his country. Yesterday he was a king unequalled, to-day a prisoner, whose captivity shall never be removed."

The Amír Khalaf was one of the greatest kings of the world, celebrated for a generous, noble, and liberal brilliancy of glory; his gifts rendered his Court useful and profitable to the wise and ingenious, and the worthies and poets of the world opened out the tongue in praising and commending him, and the renown of his merits dwelt on the tongue of the high and low. He assembled the learned of his time, in order that they might make a complete collection of interpretations of the glorious Korán, compiled from the words of interpreters, and the expositions of ancient and modern commentators, with the explanation of the reasons of readings, the cause of grammatical constructions, and the derivations of words. It was laden with witnessing examples and verses, and interwoven with the citation of tales and stories, and it was reported from confidential quarters of the Court, that he had sunk twenty thousand dinars of red gold in providing for the compilation and composition of this book. A volume of this interpretation was treasured up at the Sabúní College at Nishapúr, until the occurrence of the conquest took place. At present this perfect and complete volume

is at Ispahan, among the books of the family of Khajand (Heaven help true Moslems by their survivors, and have mercy upon their fathers who have passed away). This poor author (*i. e.* Utbi), at the time when he had been expelled his native place, and was for some time settled at Ispahan, became familiarly acquainted with this gainful garden, and borrowed light from the beams of its subtleties and mysteries. This is a book of one hundred volumes, written in different hands, so that a lifetime would be absorbed in the endeavour to copy it, nor could such a result be possible except in long years, nor could it be successfully carried out but by the assistance of copiers and writers in divers characters. Utbi thus avers, the Shaikh, Abúl-Fath-Busti told me, once it happened that there fell into my mind three verses in his praise, which I had no intention should reach his Highness. They fell into men's mouths, and reached him by the tongue of quotation. One day, a confidential officer came to me from him, and brought me a present of three hundred dinars of red gold, as a reward for these verses, and he requested me to excuse him for the amount; the verses were as follows (Poem)

"Khalaf-'bn-Ahmad will be praiseworthy beyond his successors, but he abounded in defects beyond his predecessors; Khalaf-'bn-Ahmad in truth is one, but he is the guardian of thousands. He clearly showed to the family of Al-Lays the

way of kindling the sparks, as the prophet to the family of Abd-Munáf."

I replied, this story is similar to that which occurred with regard to Ibrahún-Sábi to whom, at Bagdad, a messenger came on the part of Saif-Addoulat-Hamadúnï, requesting a poem from him, expressing verbally the sincere desire of Saif-Addoulat (for this poem). Sábi delayed preparing it, until the time for the departure of the messenger drew near, when the latter came to Sábi, and as a matter of great need, urged him to comply with his request, and to accomplish the object sought. Sábi speedily improvised these three verses (Verse)

"If for awhile I appeared faithless in my attachment to him,

"And appeared to vituperate the renown of Saif-Addoulat,

"I was seeking some one who might be supposed a partner in his greatness, and I was ignoring the truth of his absolute singularity in merit.

"I swear an oath that, looking into the depth of the matter,

"That to him who is so great in what is due (*i. e.*, devotion or *debt*)

"One would not wish to add any increase."

The next time that the messenger came to Bagdad he presented him with three hundred dinars of red gold as a reward. The Shaikh Abúl-Fath-Busti composed this Kasidah in his praise (Verse)

"He who would seek greatness, glory, and renown,
"He who hopes that fortune may incline to him, and give him eminence above all,
"Or he who hopes to obtain rank from God,
"And that there may be bountifully granted unto him familiarity with the illustrious and high,
"Or he who seeks to be confirmed in religion," &c., &c.

Utbi says—"I have heard from Abú-Jafar that the following was written upon the door of his palace: 'Let him who has been gladdened by the sight of Paradise but look at these porticoes.' 'If he has been delighted by the Heaven of works, let him by the aid of his eyes only look at this building.'"

And when the Sultán had obtained firm possession of Sajastán, when the stars of confusion had set, and the state of that country was peaceful and secure, and the longings of the children and kindred of variance was cut short, the Sultán came to Ghazna, the fame of this important victory spread through the lands, all allowing that at no time, and for no king, had such fortunate events occurred with regard to captured fortresses and portioned kingdoms. And Abú-Mansúr-Thaalabi thus speaks of the conquest of Sistán (Verse)

"Fortune hath blessed thy face with the white mark (of victory)
"And the people have been decorated by thy safety.
"The thoughts converse with thee amongst their high reflections,

"Wherewith the intelligent and the thinking are assisted," &c., &c.

And the Sultán appointed to the Vízírat of Sajasthán, Kanají, the Chamberlain, who had been one of his privy counsellors and royal deputies. He, in guiding the subjects and ruling the country, displayed vestiges of justice and equity, and exhibited good morals and pleasing manners. Then a company of vile wretches and odious scoundrels, through their agreeable condition, and wide field (of comfort), and the insolence of ease, and their devilish rebelliousness, rubbed themselves upon the wall of misfortune, and became receivers of trouble and misery, and in their ill-will, and iniquity and opposition, drew the sword from the sheath, and openly declared themselves rebels to the Sultán. And when the Sultán knew that the course of the government of his Nuwwáb was traitorously interrupted by the ugly wickedness of those lost ones, he came to Sistán with ten thousand men. And the Amír Nasr-'bn-Nasir-Addín, and Altontash-Hájib, and Abú-Abdullah-Tái, an Arabian chief, assembled beneath the shadow of his standard, and he besieged those men in the citadel of Ark. And when he had brought the strength of his army to surround them, and had consigned the sides of the fort and the troops of their chief to the singular Amírs and special heroes of his army, upon Friday, at mid-day, in the month Dhúl-Hajjah, and in the

year 390, the battle began. And the generals for a time returned the onset, but when they beheld the eminent strength and incomparable fury of the Sultán's army they were frightened, and fled within the walls of the fort, and when the Dhúl-Karanin (the Alexander) of the sun descended into the darkness of night, and black streaks began to appear upon the white cheek of day, all of them submitted to the Sultán's will, and his soldiers shouted at the watchword of his royalty, and the enemy leaving the way free, they fell upon the castle, and scattered heads down from the fort like the leaves of autumn. "Then they were like demons after the morning draught." "And they wore the amulets from the carcases of the slain." And the rest cast their swords into the wells and fountains of the land. And this country was delivered from their foulness and iniquity, and these tribes of malignity fled from the streets and pools of the kingdom, and these coasts were emptied from the power of these scorpions, and the noxiousness of these locusts. A certain ingenious person says, in narrating this victory, "Oh! thou art a king who strikest out a high flame from thy tinder. Thy mouth never ceased its vigour (in encouragement) until thou didst win the pass."

And the Sultán gave the country of Sistán unto his brother Nasr-'bn-Nasír-Addín, and annexed it to the territory of Nishapúr, and the crown of

Khurasán. And the Amír Nasr appointed as his deputy in that administration his Vízier Nasr-'bn-Ishak, who distinguished himself in the government of this country, and the regulation of those deserts, by vestiges of peace, by the lights of protection, the niceties of administration, and the regulations of security. But the Sultán returned to his capital at Balkh, with the intention of a war which, if God will and ordain, shall appear in its place.

Account of Shams-Al-Muálí-Kábús-'bn-Washamgír and his return to the Throne, after a long Absence and severe Endurance.

Shams-al-Muálí-Kabús remained eight years at Khurasán, and displayed patient attention to the transaction of affairs, and thus passed his days and the events of his life. He was not deficient in manliness or highmindedness, and lost nothing of the splendour of his station, or the perfume of his position. There was none of the great lords of Khurasán, or notables of the State, who was not courted by his gratifications and recipients of his favours, and no one saluted him on the road who was not rendered happy with some gifts, liberalities and portions, and there was not one either of the nobles or of the people, who did not clothe himself in a dress of glory or honour from him, or who had

not drank of the cup of his gifts in places and dignities. And the Princes of the house of Sámán endeavoured to raise him to their own desirable state and grandeur, and that they might make his happiness and eminence lasting, and that by promoting his power and affairs, he might wrest the sceptre of precedence from the Kings of the earth and Sultáns of the world. But by reason of the heaven-descending calamities, the eventual trials, and hindrances of the times, and the contingencies of fortune, the arrow of their intention never attained the desired object. He stood indeed like a mountain against the force of the hurricanes, and the beating of the moving waters. And he knew by experience, that the disquiet of the pain of suffering is an overflowing disquiet, and from the wrestlings of the world's events nothing but distress and anguish are produced. And these distiches are the result of his thoughts, and the effect of his reflections (Verse)

"Say unto those who, as well as we, are enduring the changes of fortune,

"Did fortune ever act adversely to the worthy?

"Dost thou behold the sea, how its waves boil up on the surfaces, but in its deepest abysses the pearls remain unmoved?

"It may be that the hand of time may become young, and may smoothe with pleasant things the kisses of adversity.

"In the sky are stars unnumbered,

"But none are eclipsed except the sun and the moon."

And when the Amír Nasir-Addin arrived at Khurasán, and had sent out Abú-Alí from thence, he displayed gladness at a meeting with Kabús, and wished to establish and preserve his rule by his aid and assistance. A journey to Balkh intercepted his intentions, and the occupations of his time hindered him, until the affair of Abú-Alí arrived at cessation, and by reason of Abúl-Kasim-Simjúr, an opportunity for returning to Khurasán again fell out; there was a fresh treaty of aid, and they displayed great kindnesses on each other's behalf. And Fakr-Addoulat-Alí-'bn-Boyah, who was the possessor of Jurján, had a powerful army, and came with a great army of Kurds to support Badr-'bn-Husnaví, and Nasir-Addin wished, in order to meet them, to bring an army of Turks. And for the purpose of assisting and supporting them in the promotion of this affair, in a stronger manner, he sent the Grand Chamberlain, Altonbásh, to Ilek-Khan, and asked an auxiliary force of two thousand horse, so that he might send them to Jurján, with Shams-al-Muálí, and himself depart to his capital of Balkh. And he remained looking for and expecting the arrival of these auxiliaries. But the Divine decree coincided not with his proposal, and Nasir-Addin, before the return of his messenger, changed his abode for Paradise. And between the Sultán and Shams-al-Muálí, by means of a great quantity of money, a reconciliation was

defined, that the Sultán should hold his territory at peace from the inconvenience of rivals, and that he should confirm the possession of his rank and dignity to the other. It was also stipulated that this sum should be delivered to the Sultán's treasury after two months. He asked a delay of this space of time, because some of this settled amount must be obtained from the revenues of Jurján, and Shams-al-muálí did not wish to squander the ryots' money by collecting those customs then. And the Sultán, on account of the death of his father, and the disturbed state of Ghazni, desisted from that proposal, and went to Ghazni, and his wish was thus delayed. And Abúl-Kasim-Simjúr was established at Koms, and when Fakr-Addoulát died, he sent one to Kábús, and communicated the news of his death, and of the flame that was spreading over the surface of the country, and expressed a wish to settle the country peacefully upon him. And they had sent Fírzán-'bn-Al-Hasan, from Ray to Jurján, with a great army of Kurds and Dalamites. But when Kabús came near to Jurján, they wrote from Bukhárá a letter to Abúl-Kasim-Simjúr, and gave unto him the country of Kohistán. And he then abandoned Kábús, and acted contrary to his promises, and cared not for the path of contention and repugnance to his engagement, and the falsification of his word. So he came

to Isfardín, and thus Kabús returned privately,* and came to Nishapúr, and there remained in expectation of happier days, and a more decided opportunity. And when he became aware that the affairs of the family of Sámán were day by day falling to ruin, and from every corner and every side new imbecility and decay existed, and that to hold on in expectation of their good fortune was to be deceived by the glitter of the mirage, and that to be occupied with their affairs was to engrave upon the surface of the water, he sent As-Afhahad-Shariár-'bn-Sharwín to the country of Sharíar, to seize upon that country, and Rastam Marz-bán,† Khal-Maj-Addoulat, Abu-Talib Rustam-'bn-Fakh-Addoulát was posted at that place. And Asafahad engaged him and defeated him, and obtained great plunder from his army. And in those coasts the Khutbah was offered in the name of Shams-al-Muálí. And Baní-'bn-Said in the midst of a troop of cavalry was fixed at Isfand-Yár, and often double-heartedness appeared in them, and his heart and soul were full of ill-feeling to Shams-al-muali-Kabús. And Nasr-'bn-Al-Hasan-Fírúzán, by reason of a famine which had lately appeared in the land of Dilem, fell upon their country, and became rapacious there. And he sent an army against

* Privately, MS. doubtful.

† Marz-bán, Guardian of the Marches, Marquis.

them, and expelled them all. And he took Asafahad-Abul-Fadhl and imprisoned him, and he was in prison until he found an opportunity (of escape). And Bání became a friend with Nasr, and both placed their heart upon the possession of Amíl. Now Abúl-Abbás, the Chamberlain, was at Amíl, and with him one thousand men of the army. And when Abúl-Abbás was too weak to resist them, and was defeated, they took Amíl by stratagem. And Bání wrote a letter to Kabús, and gave him an account of the particulars of that victory, and expressed a readiness to submit to him, and as a mark of true attachment intimated to him an intention of uniting their standards. And Bání separated from Nasr, and came to Isterábád, and declared for the claim of Kábús. And of the cavalry army all who were inclined to Kábús presented themselves before him. And Shams-al-Muálí-Kabús wrote to Asafahad that he should proceed to Bání, and give his whole attention to the task of repairing the friendship and re-uniting the favour of his Highness to Bání. And Asafahad, pursuant to this order, reconciled Kábús with Bání.

And when Fírúzán-'bn-Al-Hasan heard the intelligence of their alliance and union, he set out from Jurján, with a view to make war with them. A sharp battle took place, in the plain of Isterábád, and Bání was very nearly defeated, until a body of Kurds and Arabs, from the army of Fírúzán,

shouted forth the war-cry of Shams-al-muálí, and joined the side of Bání; and the army of Bání came after him, and took Fírúzán, with twenty of his chiefs and generals. The remainder of the army took the road to Jurján, and, when they arrived there, Salár-Kharkás, who was one of the kindred of Kabús, came there, and stood up to oppose (the fugitives).

And they were defeated; and these good tidings came to Kabús, and he became happy and glad in heart, and was conscious that the days of sorrow had passed over, and the time of fortune had arrived; and, with heart at ease and exhilarated breast, he turned his face to Júrján; and he took his seat upon the musnud of his empire and settled grandeur, in Shaabín; and, in the year 388, one of the poets of the time says, in congratulating him (Verse)

"There is an exertion which no fruitless glory distinguishes;

"There is a nobleness which no contemptible endurance adorns.

"The generous, when prosperity fails,

"Satisfies his wishes with the excuse of constancy of soul.

"Glory to the illustrious, whose maddened ardour

"Draws his eye over his rough standard;

"Glory to the wounded, to the suffering and tearful heart;

"Glory to the slain and the marks upon their sword;

"Glory to the poor, without vice or guile;

"And glory to the rich, to the days which Providence has given," &c., &c.

And when this army in their flight returned to Rai they met with much blame, and they cast disgraceful reproach and finger-pointing scorn in their faces. And Abú-Ali-Husain-'bn-Hamúlah was Vizíer; he collected two thousand men, Turks and Arabs, and natives of Dilam, and Manúchhar 'bn-Kábús, and Bayaston-'bn-Kardoyah, and Abúl-Abbás-'bn-Jáhí, and Abdul-Malik-bn-Bákán, &c., proceeded to Jurján, to join his standard. And this army consisted of the nobles of the State and nawwabs of the people of Dilem. When, then, they came to the country of Shahriar, Shams-Al-Muálí fixed his heart upon meeting them, and his hope upon the assistance of the Almighty and His favour to the fortunes of his empire. And Abú-Ali-Hamúlah felt uneasy, on account of Nasr-'bn Al-Hasan-Fírúzán, and his aid and friendship unto Kabús, and, to secure his favour and support, employed subtlety and repentance, and said, "The various relations of kindred that exist between you and Majd-ad-doulah-Abú-Talib render it imperative that you should resolve to preserve his well-being and his dominions. And you should not make a difficulty in helping and aiding him, and if you thoroughly come into this design and exhibit a wish to shrink from that party to which you now adhere, and draw off from the string of his service, whatever may happen in the way of position, fulfilment of your desires, honours, gifts, dignities,

and pre-eminences may be acquired, and the condition of Koms will be exalted by your support, so that you will be established there, and the ideas of benefits, with regard to yourself, will be perfected." With this glance of lightning (*i. e., hint*), Nasr-'bn-Al-Hasan became a mutilated limb (*i. e.*, a detached member) and decamped. And when he arrived at Sáríah he passed Jurján on the left, and came on the right side; and, when he arrived at Koms, he openly declared the secret of his thoughts, and laid before his followers the idea which he entertained within, with respect to embracing obedience to Majduldoulah. But their voices were discrepant, so that some went to Isfandiar and some towards Jurján, and Nasr, with the rest of his army, proceeded to Koms. And Abú-Ali-Hamúlah sent a person and requested a fort from him, that he might protect himself therein, and might send his baggage and his heavy furniture and money thither. Therefore he gave him the castle of Jomund, and he went and sent his packages there.* But when Abú-Alí heard of this defection, which was the consummating victory of his usual ills and hard calamities, he betook himself to Saniyah, with a design to pass by Jurján; and, when he arrived at that place, Manuchhar sent one secretly to him and expressed

* This was probably before Nasr's treason was known.

a readiness to shun the exhibition of disobedience, and neglect of duty. And Abú-Alí felt some apprehension respecting Bayaston-'bn-Bejásab and his followers, on account of his kindred with Kábús and their having been brought up together, as well as on account of the interwoven relations between them, in the connexion of former artfulness and inclinations, and his past affection to Kábús, so he seized him and sent him to Rai. And he went on to Jurján, and the people there presented a strong heart for struggling and fighting, and from morning to evening they were engaged in measuring the garment of strength and pushing the cups of perfect (bravery). Two months passed in repeated endeavours to transact this business ;* and a famine arose in the trenches of Jurján, and no food was found, and the allies of Kábús, in this distress, contented their noble souls with a scanty portion, and whatever they had succeeded in obtaining they stored up. But the army, on the part of the martyrdom-seeker,† on account of their straitened condition and scarcity of provisions, and the intercepting of supplies, sat down before Muhammadabad, in order that they might be able to fill their hands from the magazines of pay.‡ But, by reason of the continual rains and

* *i. e.* To take Jurján.

† The martyrdom-seeker, *i. e.*, of the besieger.

‡ *i. e.* Food, allowances, &c., as part of pay.

the difficulty of the roads, cares and anxieties replaced the search for pay and provision; but a storm arose, and they became too weak to contrive or arrange the means of conveying maintenance or fodder, and the force of thunder and lightning, and the vehemency of the west and north winds, overthrew the tents. And when the partizans of Kábús saw them in this confusion and distress, they came out from the citadel, and, with edges of their well arranged swords cut off the cheeks and necks of this multitude, and, with furious and repeated strokes, inundated the fountains of their livers, and with the sickles of battle cut off the members of these wretches from their united frame, until sixteen hundred men became bedfellows of the tombs, and food for vultures and crows. And they took prisoners, Asfahsálár-'bn-Gorangíz, and Zarín-Ghol, and Sajáh-'bn-Askali, and his brother, Hajder-'bn-Sálár, and Muhammad-'bn-Masúd, and they obtained as booty all the followers and horses of the army of Dilam, which the finger of confiscation sufficed not to estimate; but its reality was less than its reported value. And Shams-al-Muáli, in attending to the wounded of the army, and in care of the sick, and the regulation of prisoners, and the liberal distribution of generosities and honours, and the special assignment of all kinds of gifts, displayed the conjunction of the footsteps of generosity and the lights of disposition (*i. e.*, his

inherent generosity and enlightened disposition) and the true decree and foreknowing order of the Almighty was displayed in the most beautiful manner, in ordaining and bringing success upon this happy event. And Abú-Mansúr-Thaálabí, in commemorating this victory, says—

"Oh regulating Victory, oh Fortune! causing smiles,
"And oh Prince Shams-al-Muáli, all graciousness;
"Oh expansive Justice and Right, that receives its own,
"The people are restored and violence is extirpated,
"The keys of the world have fallen to the king,
"In whom energy and honour never ceased to confide,"
&c., &c., &c.

And when Abú-Ali-Hamula arrived from that defeat at Koms he wrote a letter to Nasr-'bn-Al-Hasan-'bn-Fírúzán, and summoned him to come by the road of celerity, in order that he might occupy himself in expediting the matter and fulfilling the affair, and in beginning the preparation for battle. And he invited him also zealously to stop up all the recent fractures (and excisions); but he could not do so, on account of his dread of the army of Kábús, at Koms, so he decamped and came to Rai, and Nasr-'bn-Hasan came as far as Basmanán. And when he arrived at Abi there he halted, and wrote to Majdaddoulah and requested support. He (Majdaddoulah) however, postponed the effectuation of this proposition and remained some time waiting, until, after a long

period, they sent the son of Yaktagin, the Chamberlain, with six hundred Turkish cavalry, unto him, who succoured his position. And Kábús sent Bání-'bn-Saíd to join in the war against them, and wrote to Shahníar that he should set himself in array, in company with him. And Bání marched against Nasr, but was persevering and cautious, and was never slothfully forgetful of the most trifling minutiæ of circumspection and self-command. And Nasr, perceiving that manœuvreing would not effect his object, fell back and observed the roads prepared and zealous for battle, when suddenly Bání arrived, and the army which was with him had no intelligence of the halt of Nasr, and was careless and divided, and in the rear confused and broken, so his army, by the hand of Nasr and his chiefs, came to ruin. This victory made a deep impression upon Majdaddoulah. But the position and rank of Nasr was established, and Majdaddoulah sent his uncle, Rustam-'bn-Marzbán, with six thousand men in aid.

And Asafabad obtained the possession of the country of Sharejar, and Nasr came to meet him, as far as Damáward, opposing and resisting him, so that the country was taken from him. But Asafabad proceeded to Shahryar, and took refuge with Manuchabar-'bn-Shams-al-Muáli. And, in the midst of the people of Karim, a great scarcity appeared, on account of the passage and re-passage

of the armies, and the searching and plundering of harvests and provisions, without money and without a request. And for this cause Nasr held off from Rustam, and separated himself from association with him; and Asphabad, when he found that Rustam was deprived of the support and assistance of Nasr, began to turn round against him, and expelled him from his country. He came, afflicted and hurried, to Rai, and Asphabad possessed himself of and seated himself in the land. And, in these days, Abú-Nasr-'bn-Mahmúd-'bn Hájib, for one reason out of several, had betaken himself to the country of Shams-al-Muáli; and Shams-al-Muáli, in dealing with him, displayed eminent artifice and bribery, assisting him with much wealth and many bounties, and, in circumstances both of need and prosperity, displayed the thoughts of an exalted temperament, and sent him to oppose Nasr; and he betook himself to this emergency, with strong heart and faithful eagerness, and several times ran against the chief troops of Nasr, until he dispersed and scattered his soldiers. And he took prisoners Hasán-'bn-Rái and Pisar Hindú (or the Hindú son) with several of his nobles, and Nasr, in his flight, halted at Samnán. Now Nasr-'bn-al-Hasan, on account of the splendour of his ancestry, and the antiquity of his rank, and the number of the bands of his comrades, exercised tyranny, and was known and

noted for rebellion and inimical conduct; and his country lay in the road of the Grand Kaaba, and the honoured Haram (Temples of Hatím and Zamzam); and he every year oppressed the companies and caravans of the pilgrimage by various kinds of delaying requisitions, and successive imposts, until his ill-name became dispersed abroad throughout all the lands of the earth, and foul shame was written upon the page of his illustrious lineage and splendid rank. And in the confusion and tumult of his affairs, the prayer of pilgrims, and the aversion of the wronged, became a marked cause of his humiliation, and of the shame of his* empire's flag. But after this failure he wrote letters continually to Rê, and implored protection through aid and support. And they wrote in reply letters of great length, and admonitions of extensions (Verse)

"Admonitions, like the mirage of the track-sought desert, from day to day and from month to month."

And after the establishment of peace between Majdaddouláh and Kábús, the subject of Nasr was brought before them, and for their reconciliation with each other it was deemed a desirable device that they should seize Nasr. And they arrived at a complete understanding with regard to

* His, *i. e.*, Majdaddoulah's flag, Nasr being a vassal of Majdaddoulah.

his affairs. But Nasr was observing these transactions, and began to be suspicious of their faithfulness. But in the midst of these events, news arrived that Arslan, the Hindú, son of the Prince of Kohistán, who was one of the lords and chiefs of the Sultán, had assaulted the head-quarters of Abúl-Kasim-Símjúr, and had cast him into the country of Jundbudh. Nasr went after him, and sought aid from an alliance with him, and incited him to march in the direction of Rê, and deluded him with an idea of his power of successfully opposing Majdaddoulat. And Abúl-Kasim was deceived by this crafty arrangement, and gave the reins into the hand of Nasr, and so came to ruin. He marched from Rê with a complete army before him, but the possibility of restraining these heroic servants and lion-cub soldiers by his own will was embarrassed and hindered. And when he witnessed the ranks of those lions, and the onset of those braves, he began to bite the finger of repentance, and experienced the shame and remorse of the words "pauperized," "injured." And Shams-al-Muáli sent a party of those tracking demons and biting devils to meet him, and they cut them off from those frontiers. And when they arrived at the borders of despair, and the world was narrow to them, they fixed their heart upon the service of the Sultán, and upon preserving themselves by the rope of his strength, and therefore betook them-

selves to his presence. But the circumstances of Abúl-Kasim, in the service of the Sultán, came to that point, that he fled from the presence, for a reason which will be given in the sequel of this exposition. Nasr however remained long attached to the service, and the Sultán gave him Bíár and Jundbudh. He went to his fiefs, but found the extent of the country confining to his immense nobleness, and lofty ideas, and could not be content therewith, and through this aimless notion he made a disturbance, until they of Rê beguiled him with various kinds of contrivance and deceit, and drew him into the snare of treachery, and bound him when sentenced by the rope of captivity, and sent him to the fortress of Astonáwand. And Shams-al-Muáli prepared to recover the fortresses of those regions, and obtained possession of the whole, and by means of his faithful ones his wish was accomplished, by seizing the head and the forelocks of those citadels into his grasp.

And Asphabad-Shahyár in the midst of all these affairs began to pour out the drops of the rivulet of strife, and became deludedly fascinated by his numerous army and abundant wealth, and collected numerous sepoys. To engage him they sent from Rê, Rustam, warden of the Marches, with the Princes of Dilem; and they sent Byaston-'bn-Bajásab, who had before been taken as being well-affected to the pretensions of Kábús,

in the body of this army. They defeated Asphahad, and took him prisoner. And Rustam, the March Warden, proclaimed the formularies of the acknowledgment of Kábús, and on account of the savage hatred which he entertained in his heart towards the people of Rê, he interwove the Khutbah with the decoration of the name of Shams-al-Muáli. He wrote also to Kábús, narrating his proceedings in securing obedience to him, and true fidelity, and by these affairs Byaston found the pupils of his eyes gladdening his soul, and became happy in heart by his return to his native land, and the restoration of his people and citizens, and his association with the service of the prince of generosity. And he annexed the kingdom of the country of Gílán to those of Jurján and Tabristán. But Shams-al-Muáli gave Gílán to Manuchhar, his son. After this the province of Rumán and Sálús, and the borders of Isfandiyah were entirely recovered, and became adorned by justice, generosity, and peace in the efficient right hand, and excellent government of Shams-al-Muáli. And Shams-al-Muáli occupied himself in founding an edifice of affection, and strengthening the motives of love with the Sultán. And he sent envoys to arrange a state of friendship, and expressed his wish to concur and aid in a care for the empire, and a reverence for the honour of the Sultán. And that the bond of friendship and regard might be firmly

decreed, he transmitted gifts and presents. He thus united and arranged the causes of confidence and sincerity. Thus Jurján and Tabristán, and the country of Dilem, as far as the sea-coast,* became subject to his decree, commanding or forbidding, binding or loosing. And Shams-al-Muáli-Kábús in his days was highly renowned amongst all other princes of provinces and chiefs of territories, on account of his noble soul, generous disposition, enlarged intellect, excellent character, perfect virtues, and brilliant energy. He was distinguished for expanded judgment, and abundant religion. And from his inclination to all kind of pure and liberal notions of external and internal (religion) recognized the truth that amusement and sovereignty are opposed to each other, and that their union, according to unchangeable and eternal rules cannot be idealized. Abú-Bosti, in confirming this sentiment, says (Verse)

"Where a king is occupied in amusement,
"There he hath pronounced upon his kingdom a sentence of sorrow and war.
"Dost thou see when the sun sets in Libra
"That the stars of the zodiac begin to sport and play."

And Shams-al-Muáli-Kábús was adorned with the impress of justice, kindness, and equity. In zeal in the welfare of his ryots, and in attention to the

* Caspian Sea.

advantage of his dependents, he was eager, and in various sciences of learning and morals he was profound. He was unparalleled for uniting skill with the sword and skill in the pen. His epistles were famed and celebrated throughout the regions and coasts of the world, and his perfect eloquence and excellence in adorning and embellishing his words were well known, &c.*

Account of the Alliance of the Sultán with Ilek-Khán, and their subsequent Estrangement.

When the Sultán had cleansed the Court of Khurásán from his adversaries, and had reduced the enemies of the family of Sámán to non-existence, Ilek-Khán succeeded to Máwaráhnnahr, and obtained the princes of the family of Sámán, their children and comrades. And these regions were entirely stripped of all that race and pearl-stock. And he wrote to the Sultán, and congratulated him on his inheritance of the kingdom of Khurásán, and proposed a reparation of good-will and the thread of friendship. An alliance was made between them, and motives of good inclination and attachment were established. And his discriminating nature advanced from a sincere affection to a sincere unity; and, at the time when the Sultán

* An elaborate Arabic epistle here follows, which is omitted.

went to repulse the attack at Nishápúr, he had sent the Imám Abúl-Taíb-Sahal-'bn-Sulaimán-Assalaoki, who was Imám of Hadis (or of the sacred traditions) upon an embassy to Ilek-Khán, and sent (also) Tugánjuk, Prince of Sarkas, to him, and expressed a desire for a noble alliance with his nobles (or noble *race*) and presented before his greatness, his army and his fortress, curious valuables of pieces of pure gold, with jacinths and rubies, and chains of great and small pearls, and gifts of robes and eggs of amber, and vessels of gold and silver full of perfumes of camphor, and other productions of the provinces of India, made from frankincense-bearing trees, and Damascus scimitars, and war elephants adorned with many-coloured trappings and jewelled bits, in describing all which gems the mind would be confused, and in specifying all which incomparable things the eyes would become turbid. And celebrated horses, with ornaments and head-trappings of gold, and various other choice and desirable things. And when the Imám Abúl-Taíb arrived at the Turkish territory they exhibited much agitation and eagerness at his approach, and expressed extreme readiness to pay homage and respect to his dignity, partly on account of their honour toward His Majesty the Sultán, and partly on account of the superabundant and excelling virtues of (the envoy) in all kinds of science, he being the singular

scholar of his age. He was sound in controversial tact, and in casuistical divinity, and lunar calculations. He thus attained to the object desired,* caused seeking to be joined with finding, and returned, having with diligent industry fully accomplished his pilgrimage; and he presented the unequalled pearl, which, as a diver, he had sought and found in Turkistán, before the Sultán's presence, with valuable specimens of the purchased articles of Turkistán, pure gold and silver, sweet musk, high-bred horses, moon-faced slaves, well-featured girls, white falcons, packets of peacock-feathers, ermines, and tawny skins, with exquisite china vessels, and many other beautiful fabrics, so that, between the two kingdoms, an interwoven alliance and affinity became fastened, as with nails, and between them, as between artificers and officers, a partnership was established in the adjustment of benefits and union. For a long period affairs continued to be fitly ordered and duly arranged between these Courts, until, through the hateful anger of fate, the straight road of affection became damaged by ill-will, and by the interlopings of Satan the stream of the fountains of love became diminished, and the bonds of that sincere regard became untied. Some of the beauteous words of Abúl-Taíb have been cited, and

* *i. e.* To demand a daughter of Ilek-Khán for the Sultán, in marriage.

at the end of this chronicle several of the subject-nobles of the Sultán (who in their paths were like bright stars, and in their fixed (orbits) like constellations, each one being a star of the stars of the age, and a moon of the moons of virtue, and a column of the pillars of science) will be commemorated. And these words are from many of the niceties of the judgment and novelties of the language of Abúl-Taíb: "He who offers himself before his time offers himself to the air." And this apothegm is taken from "The Words" of Abu Mansur, the divine: "Even a dog has high *thoughts*, and he is of the lowest extremity of baseness in whom there is a seeking for power before the times of power," &c., &c.

Account of Abú-Nasr-'bn-Ahmad-'bn-Alí-'bn-Begáyelí, one of the principal Subjects of the Sultán.

The Amír Abú-Nasr was an agent of the Sultán, a dignitary of the State, and a shaikh of the kingdom, adorned with abundant virtue, illustrious morals, exalted dignity, and expanded eminence, and well supported by great and incalculable real and personal estates, and possessed of the qualities of a modest mind, vigilance, penetration, and efficiency, who, if he wished, could divide and distinguish substance from accident, and to the acute vision of whose clear-sightedness veiled con-

ceptions and secret ideals became bright and clear. He composed verses full of delicate phrases, expressing intelligent meanings. These verses are some specimens of the births of his genius and the unique productions of his mind (Verse)

"There is a building of magnanimity, and glory, and goodness, and virtue,
"Known as the building of the generous;
"It is not a building lined with mortar,
"It is a structure lined with kindnesses.
"Love to the generous, whose purse is never full;
"Thanks to the liberal, whose hands never collect," &c.

It was one of the glorious boasts of Abú-Nasr-Begáyelí that he had two sons, each of them a star in the heaven of superiority and a moon in the horizon of prosperity: one, the Amír Abúl-Fazl, and the other the Amír Abu-Ibrahím. They were as two bright constellations in the high step (of knowledge) and two lights in virtuous renown. And Abúl-Fazl was more excellent in Arab pleasantries and of more distinguished manners. His verse and rhythm are like the paintings of skilful artists, and the round cheek of the specially beautiful. This is a section from his collection of sayings: "The arrival of the book of the Shaíkh! how did our hearts yield to its beauty, by confessing and following its (excellent) words, in comparing it to the rarest representations. One may affirm that it is the enchantment of meeting (with

the loved object) it is the purity of nature. One may show that it is the necklace of the new moon, the clasp of Aurora, and the collar of Paradise," &c.

ACCOUNT OF SAID ABÚZZAKÁT ABÚ JAAFAR 'BN MOUSÁ ABUL KÁSIM HAMZA 'BN MOUSA 'BN JAAFAR 'BN MUHAMMAD 'BN ALI 'BN AL HUSAIN 'BN ALÍ 'BN ABÚ TALIB. (May heaven be satisfied with them!) (Verse)

"Their race is illuminated by the shining sun,
"And built upon the morning dawn."

This Said, although he possessed a residence, property in land, and furniture, at Nishapúr, was a native of Tús, and, in the time of the princes of the family of Sámán was of the number of the select ones of the Court and one of the body of state nobles, so directing himself that he became admitted to sit and converse with their viziers and writers, and became embued with the impression of their brilliant dignity and sentiments, and flourished in the orchard both of serious and jocose acts, and in the verities of virtue and excellence, and, from his gentlemanly conduct and glistening pearls (of speech) and agreeable subtleties, and pleasing gifts, and peculiar skill, obtained, as a result, every complete happiness and a perfect position, which he procured by the sharpness of his tongue and the firmness of his eye. And he excelled in readiness and in discussions, through

his possession of power, and great fortune, and strong condition, and extended means, and affluent estates, and extensive rank, and his complete attainment of all kinds of elevation; and in the "book of pleasing morals," from the compilations of the works of chief historians and poets, several of his works are described. And of these, several witticisms of his verse and composition confirm (this opinion) and are an evidence of his innate excellence and sweet eloquence, and exalted force and dignity. These words are an example of his salt pleasantry: "The state of a simpleton in eduaction is like the state of the ass, who has no thought except for his feed, for his straw, and for his access to the she-asses." This assemblage belonged to the illustrious ones of the Court of the Sultán.* There were many others, excellent doctors and artistic poets, who are arranged in numbers in books and lists, to explicate the affairs of every one of whom would be alien to the object of this book, and would cause tedium and weariness. Let us now resume the course of the history and conquests of the Sultán, and the effects of his sword and spear in the provinces of the Turks and Hindús, at successive periods. And the portion of the story where it again joins on to the wars of Ilek-Khán is a theme which we will fully and amply (hereafter) treat, if God will.

* Some further account of these worthies omitted.

Account of the Conquest of Bahátíh.

When the Sultán had concluded the settlement of the affairs of Sístán, and stilled the droppings of dispute which flowed in those regions, and had dispersed all the incidents of that emergency, he determined to bring to fixed conclusion his design respecting the conquest of Bahátíh. He drew then a full army under his protected standards and brave captains to those parts. He passed over the Sihún* and the province of Múltán, and encamped before Bahátíh. This city had a wall whose height could be reached only by eagles. Its sentinel, if he wished, might hold converse with the stars, and its watchman, if he desired, might give kisses upon the lip of the planet Venus. Its top was equal in loftiness to Heaven's height and was parallel to Pisces. It had a moat like the girdling sea, with a deep and wide abyss, and a broad border was drawn around it; and they were supported by men of energy and war elephants for the defence of its territory and country. And the Prince of these accursed ones, according to the well-known course of rebellious obstinacy, relying on his lofty hill and drunk with the pride of his numerous followers, came out of the city and, trusting in the might of his heroes and the majesty of his fortune, stood to the

* The Indus.

engagement. For three days, successively, the Sultán, with the splendour of the lightning of his swords and the flashes of his well-aimed spears, baked them in the fireplace of ruin and the oven of destruction, and, on the fourth, by means of his galling arrows and hair-splitting spears and scimitars, he darkened and blackened the pages of the life of these despicable wretches, and, when the ship of the sun arrived at the midst of the ocean of the sky, the cry of "God is great!" raised by the possessors of the faith, reached the ears of the family on high (and the family of *Alí*) and, in the name of truth and verity, and with a resolve to win victory for their religion, they made a charge, such that the blackness of those infidels was wiped off from the white page of that time, and on the scene of those onsets and attacks not a vestige of those cursed ones remained. And the Sultán, like an enraged male (elephant) and a tossing sea, wielded a two-handled scimitar and cut a man in half, together with his casque and coat-of-mail, and seized several elephants, which were the body-guard of the infidels. Thus the gale of victory, from the kind care of Providence, began to flow, and the standards of the Sultán and the ensigns of the faith attained satisfaction in exaltation and elevation; and the means of gratification and satisfaction were thus prepared. But most of the enemy fled into the fortress, and sought protection

and security in the walls of their castle. Then the champions of religion withdrew the reins of volition from their hand, and seized upon the passages to the fort. And the young men of the army filled up the moat, and assisted each other in widening the narrow passages and opening the bolts; and Bijera, during the heat of the battle and the lightning and eye-striking fire of the spears (whilst his followers were suffering their punishment before his very eyesight) by means of a rope from his harness, betook himself to an intervening (chasm) of the mountain, and sought a refuge in a certain wood. The Sultán sent a star of the stars of his army to track his footsteps, that they might environ him like a collar, and fix a scimitar in him. But he, in alarm at that lightning death, and terror at what had happened, drew his piercing khanjar, and falling, resigned his fearless life and impure soul, and went to receive the retribution of denying ones and the portion of inhuman infidels for all eternity, and amidst the ranks of hell and the orders of Gehenna was punished with the scalding water and miserable pain of the verse, "This is the portion of the infidels." As for the rest of the army the greater part passed through the sword. A hundred and sixty elephants augmented, in this victory the stables of the royal stud, with an enormous booty in money and weapons. And the Sultán made that place a station, that the country

might be cleansed from the odiousness of that idolatrous people; and he spread the carpet of the Muhammadan religion and law, and drew the people of those provinces into the bond of Islám, and arranged the construction of mosques and pulpits, and appointed imáms, for the purpose of instructing them in the precepts of religion and the laws of Islám, and in the method of distinguishing and seeing what is lawful and forbidden. And, with his victorious flags and prosperous banners, he turned his face to Ghazna. And thus began the season of his rain (of glory and multiplied perils) and a long road of mischances lay before him, when men and baggage were destroyed. And many of his servants and armies perished in disgrace and fear. (although) Heaven guarded the noble being and precious life of the Sultán from the misfortune, reproach, and ruin of that thread of events. "He is the friend of the guileless good." Abúl-Fath-Bosti, his confidant, gave him excellent counsel and refused (his approval) to his passion, which led him to such aims and directed him to such resolves, and with decorated mind and firm solidity directed his words, according to Heaven-decreed justice, and by the shuttle (or loom) of equity. However, having turned his face to a point worthy of his mighty sword, of the fury of Mars and of the imagination of a lion, he inclined not to deceiving words, advice that

blamed, and the full pages from pens. Abúl-Fath, in confirmation and corroboration of this hint, says (Verse)

"The most faithful advice from men hath been fully imparted to the Sultán;
"Love and an experienced judgment hath (invited him to) follow it.
"Thou hast passed, in rank and glory, the sun's altitude;
"Thou hast in violence humiliated all who have reigned.
"Thy (onward) motions will no longer continue to follow,
"For when the sun is at his altitude he moves not."

For this question had been a matter of dispute with the first men of science. Some said, "There is no motion in the point of the ascendant altitude of the sun;" the truth of which position they endeavoured to establish by proofs from the schools; and some in establishing its motion dwelt upon the measure of other altitudes. Heaven however knows.

Account of the Capture of Múltán.

Abúl Futáh, Prince of Multán, was notoriously characterized as one of malignant craftiness, deceitful treachery, dubious fidelity, and detestable inclination. He set up a claim over the people of the Khutbah, (*i. e.*, the chief sovereignty) of Multán, to deal with them according to his will and pleasure, and cast the people into the lubricity of his

error, and the ruin of his folly. They signified the case to the Sultán, whose reverence for Islám* and jealousy for the faith stirred up and excited him to a sufficient examination into this crime, and into the subject matter of this error. And in this point he sought God's direction, and consigned all his thoughts to this religious consideration, and prepared for the affair. And he assembled a numerous company and brave army of the first men of the faith and obedience of Islám. And when that artist Spring had delineated her paintings upon the tracts of mountain and plain, and the emperor Sun had clothed all the districts of the earth with precious dresses and embroidered robes, taken from the treasury of his glorious palace, he raised the cry, "To Múltán!" And because the river torrents and superfluous rains had filled the ferrying places of the Jíhún with divers full channels and overflowing torrents, and the road was thus obstructed and affording room for excuses, he sent to Andbal, who was King of India, a person to request of him that he would permit a passage through the midst of his kingdom that the army of Islám might pass. He, however, placed the hand of repulse upon the face of the Sultán's request, and took the road of stubbornness and

* The Sultán regarded it as a religious question, since he had himself received the sovereignty and right of Khutbah from the Khalif.

obstinacy. For this cause the Sultán was enraged, and conceived the design of a double conquest, and began to assign two voices to sing one theme, and was resolved that before he concluded his first intentions he would by the shout of victory give to the winds the substance of that King's kingdom and the nest of his empire. So he commanded that they should extend the hand of plunder, and levelling, and destruction, and burning unto his villages and cities. And they cast Jaibal or Andbal forth from one strait unto another, and from one path to another; and they stripped all the provinces of his country, and cut off the roads and resources of his kingdom, until they expelled him to the province of Kashmír. And when Abúl Futáh, Prince of Multán, witnessed that with Jaibál, who was his high mountain and blocking pass, that hope had departed, he learnt that he had entered a well* (*whence he could not extricate himself*), and that it was impossible for flying hares to compete as travellers with foxes, and that he ought not to frame an imagination of the possibility of resistance (Verse)

* "The experienced knows when the moonlight flashes upon the sword striking hand; that the sword is not distant from his breast more than the measure of a cubit."

He therefore packed up his treasures and his hoards, and transported them on the back of camels

* Conjectural reading, MS. illegible.

to Sarandib, and relinquished Multán. The Sultán, when he had arrived at those provinces, and had made a full discovery of the articles and attributes of the point, seeing that all were involved in this mad error and vain folly, confined those citizens who were inhabitants and natives, in the fort, and treated them with rigour, and pinched and corrected them with the food of punishment, (fining) them twenty thousand loads of a thousand direms, and placed upon their neck the redemption money of foes, and the tax of the rebellious. The account of his stand for religion and for the illustration of the knowledge of the (orthodox) demonstrations passed to all cities, and even arrived at Egypt. And the dread of his sword was of effectual advantage in the land of Hind and Sind, and the main source of heresy, and infidelity, and perversity in those parts was intercepted and cut off, and some verses of Abu-Tamání-Táíní are suitable to this event, and correspond with this period (Verse)

"Thy victory and thy cavalry hath yesterday made thee glorious.

"This is but a trifle, but the Khutbah is not a trifle,

"(Which thou didst vindicate) when the skin of the sky was not green,

"And the aspect of winter not cheerful,' &c., &c.

ACCOUNT OF THE PASSAGE OF THE JÍHÚN BY ILEK-KHÁN.

The state of a sincere alliance between the Sultán and Ilek-Khán remained firm, until the creeping scorpions of ill-will, and the disturbing manœuvrers of hatred, cut off the progress of affection, so that the flames of dispute blazed up. And Ilek watched an opportunity of withdrawal and flight, and when the standards of the Sultán were far distant he made an expedition into the frontiers of Multán, and the extent of Khurasán was destitute of the protection of the State, and the guardianship of government, and he sent Sabáshítagín, who was general of his army, with an abundant force to Khurasán, and entrusted the capital, Balkh, to Jaafartagín, with a band of warriors. And Arslán-Jazib, Prince of Tús, was established at Herát, having received orders before from the Sultan, that if any new attack should occur on his weak part, and if loss should be produced on both sides, he should take up his position at Ghazná, march from Herát, and come to Ghazná. And Sabáshítagín came to Herát, and sent Hasan-'bn-Nasr to Nishapúr, to enquire into the property, and to value the sources of wealth. And the majority of the nobles of Khurasán encouraged them with friendship and aid, on account of the prolongation of the days of the Sultán's absence, and the interception of intelli-

gence, and the concealment of his footsteps, and on account of the trembling of earthquakes (*confused rumours*), and contracted feelings, and daily reports, and vain words. And Abúl-Abás-Fazl-'bn-Ahmad, in order to guard the paths and govern the provinces of the kingdom, arrived from Ghazná, as far as the frontiers of Bamian, with the preparation for a complete intercepting cordon. And he committed the passes of ingress and egress of that country to men of action, and a cautious corps of observation. And quick messengers ran through the whole extent of the kingdom to the Sultán with tidings of the conduct of Ilek. And the Sultán laid aside all care for other regions, and like striking lightning and a furious wind travelled that expanse over the plains and through the warriors, over the deserts, and through the tribes of people, and in a short time arrived at Ghúzni, and afforded aid to the sons of the Empire, and the nobles of His Majesty, by his horses, mules and riders, and assembled from the great spearmen a body of glorious soldiers (Verse)

"Angels upon angels, or, if they were human, such as embroidered by the needle."

And came like a raging sea to Balkh, and Jaafartagín went out from this contingency, flying like a devil from exposure to the storm of ashes. But the Sultán sent Arslan-Jazib with ten thou-

sand cavalry on his road. And Sabáshítagín when he arrived at the bank of the Jihún, and beheld that foaming sea and roaring torrent, turned aside and came to Merú, in order to march through the desert. But the summer was hot, so that the wells were filled up, and the roads obliterated, and the path difficult to determine; therefore he began to move towards Sarkhas. But Muhsin-'bn-Tabák, who was one of the Gozz chieftans, seized the road, and bestirred himself to resist him. Sabáshítagín, therefore, finding no possibility of making a stand against the army of Arslan, and not even an opportunity of bathing (*i. e., from the hot pursuit*), was deprived of the power of proceeding (literally, *ἄπορος*), and went therefrom to Nisá. And as he was about to collect his baggage and march, upon occasion of one of his marches, Arslán-Jazib came down, and on account of his baggage, and the enormous weight of treasure and of goods which he had derived from the provinces of Herát, he was unable to retain those appendages, or to cope with those heroes. In order to preserve (this property) he wandered right and left until the conclusion of the affair was that he made it all the means of preserving his existence and a matter of life. Therefore he cast all this transported burden and heavy load from his back, and struck in towards Nishapúr. The other army kept close after him until he halted at the frontiers of Jurján. He threw himself

amongst the cliffs and thickets of that land, and the surrounding people of Gilán struck him with the hand of slaughter and plunder, and brought to bear their killing strength upon his comrades and his troops. Several of his army fled to the safety of the protecting shadow of Shams-al-Muáli. He, by the route of Damistan, came as far as Nísá, and sent the remainder of his baggage to Alí-'bn-Mamún-Khwárism-Shah. And on the part of Ilek-Khán he entrusted him with the charge thereof, and enjoined him to preserve it, and earnestly recommended him to guard it from the impurities of treachery. And with respect to all the camp-followers and the relics of the force, he dismissed them to the service of that Prince, and started for Merú, by way of the desert. The Sultán halted at Tús, for the inspection of the booty of Arslán-Jazib, and upon the arrival of intelligence that Sabáshítagín came out by way of the desert, he turned on the road by which he might meet him, in order that he might perchance overtake him, and draw him into the snare of vengeance. But when the Sultán arrived he had passed to the desert. Upon this the Sultán despatched after him Abdullah-Táín, with an army of Arabs which was in his care; and his condition was such as Said-'bn-Hassán describes (Verse)

"I fled from a flowing rivulet and its scantiness
"Unto a superabundant water and its confused streams;

"And I was like one who eagerly rushes into a canal,
"When desiring to escape the thunder-rain." (*i. e.*, the gentle summer rain?)

And, in the midst of a desert wherein there was no water, except Satan's saliva, and nothing brightly green (*sheen*) except the flat of swords, they laid the sword upon his company and they took prisoners his brother, with seven hundred of his distinguished chiefs and captains. And the Sultán commanded that they should tie each one's sword below him, and place it upon his heel, and carry all to Ghazna, that all the world might take example from their misfortune and distress, and the fallaciousness of their confidence (Persian Verse)

"I have often contemplated and still no thought arrived, but this good one,
"Happy he who directs himself (to serve) this Lord.
"Let him who would be at ease implore God to make his burden light.
"The head of every one will be cheerful whose foot is on that threshold."

Sabáshítagín, with a few individuals, saved his life, and passed the Jihún, and appeared before Ilek-Khán, who had already sent Jaafartagín, with six thousand horse, towards Balkh, in order to divert the Sultán from the pursuit of Sabáshítagín. But the Sultán regarded them not, until he had concluded his immediate engagement. Then he

turned his reins towards them and suddenly assaulted them, and sent the Amír Abúl Muzaffar Nasr, with his hunting forces and reaping troops, who held on to them until they were all expelled from the territory of Khurasán.

As for Ilek Khán he could not rest from this calamity, and despatched a "letter of succour" to Kadir-Khán, King of China, imploring aid. And a sea of Turkish forces came like a torrent, and occupied the utmost parts of his kingdom and cities. And the army of Máwarannahr came, in a body to join them, and five thousand bridles passed the Jihún, madly proud of the resources and strength of Kadir-Khán, of his great numbers, extreme bravery, established ability, and extensive power (Verse)

"Around him is a sea, which dashes with its billows and wears out the margin of the cliff.

"The stone from a small hill comes to them,

"It smooths thereby the shore,

"Until it joins the fragments of misfortune and arranges them in order."

The news of their arrival reached the Sultán, at Takhristán: he packed up and went to Balkh, that the food of their covetousness might be cut off from those regions, and the road of provisions and pay might be closed; and the Sultán was occupied in arranging the means of war, and he collected a numerous army, of various tribes of Turks, Kha-

lajes, and Hindús and Afghans, and the Gozz troops, and they met at a wide place, four farsangs from Balkh (Verse)

"The fifth of the east of the earth and the west responds,
"And their murmur reaches the ear of Gemini.
"Therein are assembled all people,
"Nor can they understand the news without an interpreter.
"Oh God, at the time of the way of sorrow thou seest it,
"And (when) the warriors and lions survive not."

Ilek then marched down with his army to battle, and for that day the young men of the army only boasted and swaggered, until the carpet of night was spread, when they separated, with the promise to fight with each other on the morrow. And the Sultán was occupied in arranging the order of battle. He assigned the centre to the Amír-Nasr, brother of the Prince of Jurján, Abú-Nasr-Faríghoní, and Abú-Abdullah-Taíní, with a body of his picked Curds and brave genii. He sent the right to the great Sáhib, the Amír Altontash, and charged Arslán Jázib with the left, and strengthened the force of the centre with five hundred elephants. And as to Ilek Khán, he, having stationed himself in the centre, had Kadir-Khán, with the army of Chín, on the right, and Jaafartagín on the left. Thus they engaged, and the earth resounded with thunder-like shouts and blows, and was in a blaze, from the terrible

lightning of swords, and they sewed patches of dust upon the blue lining of the heavenly vault, and rendered the field of battle brilliant with the torches of arms and the tapers of spears, and sprinkles of blood began to rain from those lightning scimitars. And Ilek-Khán, with five hundred Turkish ghulams (*quasi* grenadiers) fought so skilfully that in the front of the army they could split a hair with their arrows, and could take a mountain from its place by the strokes of their swords. Then the sea of war was raised to a storm and the ground of the field was shaken as by an earthquake. And the Sultán, when he witnessed the mighty strength and terrible power of that body, came down to a small hill and implored the Almighty to strengthen his right hand and forgive (*his errors?*) and he placed his hand upon the end of the skirt of Heaven and trusted in God's guardianship, and asked victory from Him; and he made vows of offerings and engaged himself to give pious alms, and humbly submitted himself to God (imploring) that He would speed on victory and conquest. Then he mounted his own special elephant, and, with clear mind and sincere assurance, made a charge upon Ilek-Khán's centre; and his elephant seized the standard-bearer of Ilek-Khán and tossed him into the air, and, with weighty fury and extreme might humbled the men under his foot, and with his trunk hurled

them from the back of horses, and tore them to pieces with his teeth. Upon this the chiefs of the Sultán boiled with the eagerness of opportunity and the gladness of victory, and bestirred their scimitars to strike the mass. Then came the tongue of reproach and cursing, and they compelled the troops of the *Turks* to *leave* (original, *Tark*) their position, and to take the path of flight, and the Sultán's army with fury and madness cast them back to Mánaránnahr, and not a trace of them remained in Khurasán. And again, these verses of Salami contain a description of the event, and a delineation of the impress of the Sultán's deeds (Verse)

"Oh sword of the religion of God (*i. e.*, the Sultán) thou art not pleasing to the enemy, even although thy sword like thy *rectitude*, cuts *rightly*," &c., &c.—*ορθοτομεῖ*.

And when the Sultán had concluded this great victory, and had allayed the heat of his anxiety, and had put an end to the series of these accidents, he determined to carry out his design of attacking Nawastah-Sháh, (or, Zab-Sais). This Prince was one of those sons of some Kings of India, unto whom the Sultán, having displayed to them the profession of Islám, had intrusted several of the provinces which he had won from the infidels, and had given the reins of the government of regions unto the hand of his fidelity, and had confidence in

him, and had left him deputy and viceroy in those countries. But he divested himself of the collar of religion and the robe of Islám, and put on the cloak of infidelity, and became an apostate. The Sultán twisted him from his position by one direct attack, and expelled him broken and discomforted from those limits, and a second time adorned Bahjat-Málik with that kingdom, under his own sovereignty. These two great victories, and important affairs, presented a clear demonstration and a cutting proof of the exalted dignity of the Sultán, of his perfect fortunes, of the support of God, and of the aid of heavenly kindness. And thus, beneath the canopy of empire and of victory he turned his face towards Ghazna. "For this grace of God makes to believe whom He will," for God has great grace.

Account of the Capture of the Fort of Bahím by Storm.

After these two famous victories he came to his capital, Ghazna, with a view to enjoy repose and refreshment, in order to give some days' relaxation. Then, however, when he found that the pole of his quiescence began to be in motion, and when he saw the star of his repose begin to travel, then his mind turned to the choice of expanded boundaries, instead of limited ones, to the deeds of swords and

glory, instead of self-pleasure, and rebellion, to a repulse of every attachment to amusement, and unto God's will, instead of a perverse disposition. And all his times being thus devoted and consecrated unto the building up of perfect renown, and gaining an abundant recompense; he, by reason of this gracious resolution, determined upon another conquest, whereby the colours of Islám might be exalted, and the flags of idolatry and denial of religion might be subverted and overset. When, therefore, the month Rabi'al-Ackhir of that year had passed he marched forth. And when he arrived on the bank of the Wámund, Wábál-'bn-Abdbál came to confront him with a numerous army. And from the time that the falcon of morning took his flight from the nest of the horizon, until the crow of darkness closed her wing, the fire of battle burnt, and the pieces of men's bodies hacked by the sword coloured the earth as if by anemones. And it had nearly happened that the army (of the Sultán) were wounded (worsted), and that the infidels had obtained the high hand. However the promise respecting victory to the words of Islám were fulfilled, and the Sultán with his own guards made a charge, under which the feet of the infidels were unable to stand. They were therefore routed, and sixty head of elephants, which were the guard of that mountain-like temple, by the river passage of those infidels, fell into the

Sultán's hands, and they drove them amongst the black hills and deep passes. And the Sultán moved his soul in seeking those vile wretched ones, and cast to the ground many of those false felons. And then he arrived at the base of the fort of Bahin Bara (Baghra, or Naghra).* This is a castle in the midst of the water, very moist, high as a mountain, and an inaccessible pit (keep?) constructed there. And the people of India made it a treasury for their great idols, and load upon load of precious goods and jewels had been transported there, for the purpose of obtaining salvation, and for the sake of a nearer approach to Heaven, and for oblations to the Almighty. The Sultán closely surrounded this fortress. And they began to fight in defence of this castle with devoted strength and resolute fierceness. But when those people beheld the power of those stirrers-up (lit. *pokers*) of war, and the majesty of those exciters of burning fuel, fear and horror grasped hold of them, and dread and terror seized the expanse of their breasts, and their enemies' exploits bound the bandage of disgrace over their eyes. And the Sultán threw the snaring rope of conquest over their head, so that they capitulated, and consented to serve in war under the banners of the Sultán. Then they opened the gate, and humbly offered service to the

* Bahim Baghra, or Naghra, near Naghrakut, in Lahore.

Sultán's stirrup, and cast themselves upon the ground. And from the benefits of this possession prodigious fruits and abundant flowers accrued to the Sultán, and he found such an amount of exquisite gems, brilliant jewels, and precious stones, and rare treasures, that the fingers of the scribe, and the account books of the calculators, would be unequal to the task of catalogueing and numbering them, and with the Prince of Jurján and his private attendants, he went within the castle. And he committed the guardianship of the gold and silver and other (like) valuables to his two Chamberlains, Altontásh and Istargin, but determined that he would himself undertake the care of the treasure of jewels, and transport the whole on the back of men and camels. And as far as it could be brought to computation and account, the treasure consisted of 1,070 packets of royal dirhims, and 700,400 *mans* of gold and silver bullion. And as to the robes, and cups (or basins), silk and cloth, &c., they were so many, that the seniors of the empire and clerks of State were quite unable to arrange them, and acknowledged that they had never beheld such robes, both as regarded the beauty of the workmanship, and its delicate excellence. And amongst other discoveries they found a large house made of silver, sixty cubits long, and fifty wide, with broad flooring, so arranged, and so contrived with ropes, that the whole could be thrown together, or could

be separated into divisions; that it could be folded up or expanded, let down or raised up with ease; with curtains of Grecian brocade, and two golden statues, and two silver statues. The Sultán then left several of the gravest and most trust-worthy of the State to protect that fortress, and with the pledges of victory, and beneath the canopy of power, turned towards Ghazna. And when safely settled in his glorious abode and expanded Court, he ordered that a carpet should be spread in the midst of the serai, and that they should pour upon it, those pearls bright as stars, those jacinths coloured like flames, those fresh green emeralds, and those packets of perfect crystal stones. The chiefs of countries and deputies of provinces were there, who took the finger of astonishment into their mouth. And the envoys of Togha-Khán, King of the Turks, were present, and all confessed that a sight of this kind could not be contained within the compass of thought, and that the treasures of Karún could not have amounted to a tenth part thereof. Heaven knows, however.

Account of the Family of Farígun.

The country of Juzján had for a long time of the reign of the family of Sámán appertained unto Farigun, the inheritance descending from grandfather to father, and brought down from predeces-

sor to successor. Their beneficent and generous dispositions had deserted the path of ill-will (or suspicion) with regard to people, and the poor and good of those regions sought, as an object to be attained, their protection and favour. Hence their wealth was an opportunity for hope (to dwell upon). Their land became the plain and meadow for the relaxation of all noble hearts, and the reward of poetry bore a high price in the market of their humanity, whilst their liberality was always forward and engaged in mending that which was broken, and in freeing that which was captive; and the virtuous examples of the world were eager to receive the beauty and ornament of their benefits. And Abú-Harith-'bn-Muhammad was one of the most illustrious princes of his dynasty, and the glory of all the race, and in their very embroidered border he possessed saintly beneficence, a broad canopy of protection, and a well ruling sceptre. The Amír Sabaktagin had requested favour after favour in behalf of his son, and for his son Abú-Nasr he had procured an incomparable pearl (one of his daughters in marriage?) from the glorious ocean, Nasir-Addín, so that the ground (the existence) of a union in temperament had been established between their two Highnesses. Moreover bonds of kindred and confidences of affinity had been fixed and intertwined between them. And when Abú-Harith

died, the Sultán confirmed his son in the possession of that territory, and specially aided and tended him, until, in the year 401, he migrated from the house of earth to the house of retribution. And Badí-Hamadání when he presented himself to their Majesties threw this fragment of poetry, when he was introduced, before them (Verse)

"A book and the sea, if I have never seen them I have heard an account of them;

"A lion! if I have not met with him I can imagine and portray his nature;

"A just king! if I have not fallen in with him his character hath fallen in with me, and whose hath seen the effects of his sword hath seen his greatness," &c., &c., &c.

And when he left the presence, he composed the following, as an offering of thanks for his reception (Verse)

"Dost thou not see that in my journey I met with my wish, with riches, with the Amír;

"And whilst thou beholdest I was light and cheerful upon the earth,

"And I was an important person, who smells perfumes," &c., &c.

ACCOUNT OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL, KADIR-BILLAH, AND HIS KHILÁFAT AFTER TÁÍ, AND HIS INAUGURATION, AND THE TRANSACTIONS THAT OCCURRED WITH HIM AND THE SULTAN YAMIN-ADDOULAH AND BIHA-ADDOULAH.

*The Amír Bihá-Addoulah-wa-Ziá-Al-Millat. considering that the Commander of the Faithful Al-Táí-Billah evaded his just counsels in the administration of the affairs of the empire, and in various matters acted in opposition to his satisfaction and consent, and that from this cause ruin presented itself, and dissensions originated on all sides, applied all his thoughts to the proposition, that he should choose, for the throne of Khílafat, and for the investiture with the faithful Imámship, some one whose fitness for this great business, and weighty matter, he himself knew, and who would acknowledge it to be an absolute duty to govern in a salutary manner the high and the low; one who, in guarding the apple of the eye of Islám, and in faithful regard to the centre of religion would be far from following his own passions, or from the

* De Sacy remarks that this account of a revolution in the Khílafat is unconnected with the history of Mahmúd of Ghazna; but perhaps Utbi inserted it for the following reason: Biha-Addoulat was one of the princes of the family of Boyah, or Buwwoyah, over which Mahmúd was Suzerain, and the author, therefore, probably designed to indicate the influence of Mahmúd, as superior lord of one who could depose and nominate a khalif at his pleasure.

choice of the will of self. He watched his opportunity for carrying out this design, until the month Shaabán, in the year 381, he deposed him from the Khílafat, and transferred his property and treasure. And having sent to Táíh, he summoned the Commander of the Believers Al-Kadir-Billah, Abú Ishak-'bn-Ahmad-'bn-Ishak-Almuktadir-Billah, Commander of the Faithful, who resided there, to Bagdad, and invested him with the Empire. Thus the task of mending the broken affairs of the State, and reestablishing the people was settled upon him. He arrived at Bagdád in Ramadhán of that year. All classes of men, on account of the veritable evidences of his character, and their unmixed confidence in him, were eager for his inauguration, and invoked blessings and prosperity upon his Imámship, and Khílafat, since his virtues were like stars shining brightly upon the whole earth, and his deeds like flowers displayed upon the surface of time. And he, in the burden of that stewardship and obligations of that office of Imám, resolved upon such a course of conduct that all who knew him allowed that such an Imám as he, both in fullness of intellect, and gravity and dignity and superabundance of sedateness, and purity of manners, had never sat upon the throne of the Khílafat. For his modesty, and decision, strength of heart, liberality of disposition, his splendid dignity, the terror of his sword and spear, his eloquence of

language, and the regular generosity in distinguishing merit and desert which was a peculiarity of his noble nature, were qualities which had never before been united in any one of the race of Abbáss. And on account of their kindred origin, and through the influence of the affinity of Tái to him, he alleviated his deposition, and took him beneath the canopy of his care and kindness, and honoured him specially with his association and companionship, and introduced him as a particular comrade into the chamber of his favours and generosity, and forgot not that during his festival of power and season of autocracy he had suffered misfortune and wounds, until Fate who cuts off sport, and tears up sociability sat down between them, and dissevered them. Abú-Alhussain-Muhammad-Ibn-Hussainí-Al Musa, in his elegy upon Tái, says thus (Verse).

"If this was a great rock it hath fallen, after having been raised high and widely,

"Though in height, and width, and length it was a mansion for the vault of the stars in motion," &c., &c.

Moreover the orators of Irak, and poets of those countries came troop after troop to present themselves to His Highness the Khalíf, and offered compositions, and verses, and encomia of the Commander of the Faithful, Alkadir-Billáh, his noble sentiments, and his illustrious kindred who were

the fountains of right, the corner-stones of generosity, the lanterns in darkness, and the convincers of the people. Their long and short poems were collected, and their narratives personal or designative, clearly explicated and declared. And Abú-Muhammad-'bn-Abdúl-Islám-'bn-Muhammad-'bn-Al-Haízam, who was one of the Imáms of Khurásán relates, when the Commander of the Faithful, Al-Kádir-Billah, was inaugurated as Khálif, I rose up at his feet, and composed this oration (Oration)

"Praise to God, possessed of might and victory, whose reproofs are undeniable and his bounties evident, whose goodness is common to all, whose kingdom is eternal, whose glory is gentle, whose decree can never be repelled, and whose gifts cannot be hindered," &c., &c.

"And lo! God's favour hath given us the happiness to tread the carpet of the Commander of Believers, praising God for the benefits he hath given us, by (recognizing) the royalty of the Commander of Believers, Mahmúd-'bn-Sabaktagín, whose conduct is as his name (*i. e.*, laudable, illustrious). And we pray God that the peace of the Commander of the Believers may be everlasting, and that his hopes may be fulfilled in Abúl-Fazl, Prince of the Law of Muslims, he who conquers in God, son of the Commander of Believers, and that God may cause to follow upon him the happiness of his just fathers, and good and pure ancestors. So praise to God, Lord of both Worlds, and benediction upon his Prophet Muhammad and all his family."

Now when this oration had come to an end, the Commander of Believers ordered that they should make a copy of it, and preserve it in his treasury. And when the pulpits of Khurasán were

adorned and decorated with the inspection of the august succession of Alkadir-Billáh, the Sultán displayed marks of obedience, and peculiar affection, and special proofs of confirmed fidelity, and the Commander of Believers, Al-Kadir-Billáh, gave a supreme diploma, ordaining that in the commendatory commemoration of the country they should recognize the right of his son, *Al-Ghalib-Billáh*, and signified his will that his surnames should be conjoined with those of his father in the pulpits of Islám. And the Sultán strictly imposed this diploma, by a similar one, and made it a matter of obligation, and on all days of festivals and congregations caused the Khuthah to be illuminated and adorned with both these two surnames.

And now let us again turn our narrative to Bíhá-Addoulah, and the exposition of his adventures. With respect to his affairs subsequent to the decease of Azduddoulah, they are so fully contained in the book entitled, "Connected Compilations respecting the transactions of Azduddoulah, with the son of his uncle Bakhtyar, until (he?) took and killed him, and sent his head to Azduddoulát," that it would be profitless to repeat it. The Amír Azdaddoulah died in the year 327. And in those days his brother Muyyad-Addoulah was fully occupied in the war with Hasám-Addoulah-Tásh, and Fáik, and the army of Khurasán, therefore the sons of the Empire and chiefs of his

Court invested his son Samsám-Addoulâh-wa-Shams-Al-Millat with the government, and girded themselves to obey and follow him. And the Commander of the Faithful, Al-Tái-Billâh, with warm regard, commanded the ceremony of condolence (*tazit*) to be performed (for the late Prince), on the banks of the Tigris, the people of Bagdad being spectators of that concourse and assembly. And when Tái came near Samsám-Addoulâh ran from his pavilion, and exhibited every indication of humility and allegiance. And Tái said, "May God aid the face of the departing one. May God grant thee a succession that is durable! May condolence be offered, after that succession, *to* thee, not *for* thee, and a succession devolve *upon* thee, not *from* thee." Upon this tears came into the eyes of Samsám-Addoulah, and he kissed the ground of respect. And when the days of mourning were accomplished he took his seat in the room of his father, and occupied himself in arranging his kingdom and ruling his subjects (literally, feeding his flock). But Abul-Fawaras-Sharzi, who was his elder brother, was settled at Karmán, in the city Wáshír. When intelligence of the decease of his father reached him he came to Fars, and seized Alí-'bn-Nasr-Harún, who had been Vízier of Azduddoulah, and took possession of all the treasure, and of the residue of the revenue which was at his disposal. Then he came to Haváz, and dis-

possessed his brother Abúl-Hasán-'bn-Ahmad-'bn-Azdaddoulah of that province. He then came to Basra, and, in Rajib of the year 375, took Basra by capitulation. He then proceeded to Bagdad to obtain his father's place. And when intelligence of his approach arrived, Samsám-Addoulah, by dint of his great finesse, began to go round, to go from side to side, to vacillate, to endeavour to evade the savage temper and to shift from the hatred of his brother. Yet he learned that the sheath and repository cannot hold two swords, and that he ought not to conceive the idea of shooting two arrows from one bow; for Abul-Fawáris abused, and insulted him. Then he seized him, and sacrificed his eyes, and sent him to the fort of Karusán to his uncle, and took quiet possession of the kingdom. And the Commander of the Believers, At-Tái-Billáh, conferred upon him the title of Sharaf-Addoulah-wa-Zain-Al-Millat. He reigned two years, and in Jamádí, Al-Achir, of the year 399 (?), he died suddenly. And Sháinsháh-Biha-Addoulah-wa-Zía-Al-Millat-Abú-Nasr'-bn-Azdaddoulah seized the kingdom, and displayed a white hand in retaining, administering, and governing all things, in adjusting the carpet of justice, and in settling the kingdom advantageously. He displayed good features (of character), possessed perfect intelligence in mercantile affairs, and an extreme far-sightedness as to the issues of events. But a body of the army of

the Turks coming to the fortress of Fars, released Samsám-Addoulah therefrom, and proclaimed him Amír. And thus his memorable happiness, conveyed him from amongst slaves, and exalted him to high rank, from the castle where he had been imprisoned. Thus he became chieftain over the kingdom of Fars; and seized the wealth and revenues, and availed himself of the treasure which had been provided. Afterwards all the Turks rebelled against him, and brought out Abú-Alí-'bn-Abúl-Faráwiz, and entitled him, Sun of the State and Moon of the Faith (Shams-Addoula-wa-Kámr-Al-Millat) and proceeded to claim the kingdom by way of force. Samsám-Addoulah addressed himself to repulse them, and defeated them, so that they fell back with loss and distress to Bagdád. And Bíha-Addoulah resolved to oppose Samsám-Addoulah, and some warlike meetings fell out between them, and during the time of these confusions Basra was reduced to ruin, and the greater part of the territory of Hawáz was exposed to destruction. And the sons of Baktyar were in the fortress of Majús, and a body of royal Curds, in order to stir up the flames of discord, and from their bias unto crime and malice, brought them out. Samsám-Addoulah occupied himself in repelling them, and gave them general repulses. But in the end he was killed in one of those battles, and became a martyr. And Bíha-Addoulah, from motives of affectionate kin-

dred and near affinity, drew the sword of vengeance against those forces, and expelled them all from his kingdom. And their General and Amír Núr-Addoulah was a son of Baktyar, and his affairs came to that extremity that he was reduced to levy payments for protection, and to stop merchandize on the road, and by payments therefrom hoped for wealth (*or,* caused fear to them*). And Bíha-Addoulah sent an army after him, which came up with him at the city gate (of Daru ?) and killed him. And of the corps of guards of Bíha-Addoulah there was one who took possession of his head, and bringing it presented it to that Prince, who was extremely angry, and commanded that they should flay that soldier from head to foot, that others might take example, nor display such zeal in killing kings. And he sent the General of the Army to Bagdád, that he might settle the collection of the imposts, and the salutary direction of revenue, and the preservation of the affairs of the empire, and the fitting order of the kingdom. And in this business he displayed agreeable conduct, and by his mild proceedings in his government carefully regarded measures of prosperity, and means of full justice, and gained an enviable name and fame. Thankful acknowledgments to him were published and proclaimed in the mouth of the select and the

* MS. doubtful.

popular ranks, until his life came to an end. His successor was the Vizier of Viziers, who surpassed even the General of the army in gaining good deeds, and in laying up generous actions, and in guiding his people, in his manner of taxing, in his opposition to falsehood, in his exaltation of the custom of gifts, in stopping the avarice of devourers, in his goodness to the body of the people, and in his zeal for healing the crudities of wickedness, and in setting right the followers after confusion. And the kingdoms of Fars and Karmán, with other provinces, were annexed to the dominion of Bíha-Addoulah, and the fires of discord went down, and affairs were joined in due order, and universal peace and perfect tranquillity appeared, and the people found the days of an interval of deliverance from the hardships of oppression and wrong. Thus during the life of Azduddoulah-Abú-Alí-'bn-Aliás, and his possession of the coasts of Karmán, that country through the power of the Samanides and their supremacy in those frontiers could hold itself firm, without suffering or repulsing attack.

And because he beheld a determined disposition in his son, and remarked the evidences of ambition in his understanding and imagination, he sent him to one of the fortresses of Karmán. Here he was imprisoned for some time. And in this castle were several of the family of his father's

Court: they cast an eye upon the imprisoned Prince, and pitied his condition. Therefore they tied their veils together and let him down from the top of the castle. And when the army became aware of the escape of the Prince they all assembled and joined him, and during all the days of his father they wearied him with measures (and propositions) of trouble. And Abú-Alí sent a message to the chiefs of the army and notables of the people, and desired to know the cause of their hatred and ground of their fierceness, and employed gentle and friendly words. But he received no healing reply and saw no result, except the necessity of propitiating His Highness.* For all released him from governing, and absolutely required that he should separate himself from the country and towns of Karmán, and divest himself of all desire for those regions. And when he saw the vehemence and obstinacy of these forces he perceived that there was no remedy, but in gentleness and in quitting his lordly tone. Therefore he collected the property and moveables which he had, and took the road to Bukhárá; and he sent his son, 'bn-Mahdí, and Barmash, the Chamberlain, to the other son, in order that, by the aid of their perfect intellect, they might expedite his affairs. And when Abú-Alí arrived at Bukhárá he used the utmost endeavour, by seeking and visiting, to

* His Highness, *i. e.*, of Bukhárá: the dates are confused.

obtain splendour and distinction for his rank, and was a constant attendant at the presence of the King, until, in the month Shaivál and the year 356 (?) he was committed to the grave. And his son Alísa obtained possession of the kingdom of Karmán; and his affairs met with perfect success, and his authority was consolidated and advanced. His brother Sulimán was settled at Jarján, for the viceroyalty of that place had been committed to him. He stirred up his son 'bn-Mahdi-Alísa to attack him, and said that he ought to lay hands upon him before his disjointed affairs were fully put in order, and his condition settled. Alísa then summoned his brother from Jírján, under pretext of consulting him upon some weighty business. He however sought to hold back, by means of false excuses and deceitful words. And Alísa became grieved at this refusal, and conceived a suspicion of him. He therefore attacked and defeated him, and seized all his property and baggage, heavy and light, and Sulimán went to Bukhárá. But the history of Alísa turned out eventually according to the saying, "The ass seeking two horns, lost his two ears." The explication of which proverb is this, when he arrived on the frontiers of the country of Fars, a detachment of the army of Azduddoulah went to offer service to him. He caressed them greatly, and gave them dresses of honour. But then several of this body fled, and came into the ser-

vice of Azduddoulah. For this cause Alisa became suspicious of the fidelity of the remainder, and made them all an example. Then most of his army went into the service of Azduddoulah, who abundantly honoured them. And the army witnessing the disruption of these two bodies became alienated from Alísa and hated him, and at one stroke a thousand men of the chiefs of Dilem severed themselves from his troops, and attached themselves to His Highness, Azdaddoulah, in the province of Istakhar. After this company after company attached themselves to him, until the whole of the people of the army were dissevered. And he, with his slaves and body guard, went to Washar, and twisting together his light and heavy baggage, went to Bukhárá. Upon this Azduddoulah was soon at Washar, and succeeded to the kingdom of Karmán. He removed Gorangirín-Hassan to become his vicegerent and lieutenant of that place, and betook himself to the direction of Fars. As for Alísa when he arrived at the confines of Kohistán, he left all his baggage at Hawín, and in the hope of succour went to Bukhárá. His exalted rank and honoured dignity was highly regarded in the royal presence, and favoured in the Court, and he was specially admitted into familiar intercourse and society with the King. But on a certain day, during a social meeting, when the course of wine had seized the reins of self-command from his hand,

he introduced a freedom of speech beyond that which his rank authorized, and uttered the following expressions: "If I had known that the disposition of the house of Sámán shrank from aiding the grieved, and succouring the anxious, and that my hope of obtaining the prospect of encouragement, and an asylum from their Highnesses, would have been disappointed and belied, I would have sought refuge in some other direction, and requested support from some other quarter." The harshness of these words moved the King, and they seized him, and sent him to Khwárism. And Abú-Alí-'bn-Simjúr sending to Hawin, took possession of all his baggage, light and heavy, and all his bedding, coloured clothes, and changes of raiment.

This loss constituted bitter intelligence to Alísa, at Khwárism, and he could not patiently endure that measure of affliction. And in his extreme anguish and disgust lifted up his finger and tore out the pupils of his eyes, and by this, in the issue, he laid down his life. As to the sons and followers of Alísa, they afterwards chanted the pages of misery, and none of them saw Kirmán except in his sleep. Kirmán then was fully settled upon Azduddoulah, until he went to the home of mercy, and Bíha-Addoulah inherited the kingdom. These regions were adorned by his justice and equity. And when the Sultán seized Sistán, and the duty of neighbourhood and contiguity of dominion was

observed between them, he openly declared and uttered an assertion of his noble attachment and eager affection towards the Sultán, and sent to him gifts and presents, worthy of his exalted mind and illustrious descent. And the Sultán reciprocally commanded that double kindnesses should be rendered to him, so that the source of mutual hospitality, and the fabric of friendship, was settled between them. And the senators of the two empires, by means of their compositions, exerted themselves to interweave as the motives for constancy, the bonds and claims of neighbourhood, and to nail the foundations of affection by the nails of alliance and affinity, so that unity and intimacy resulted between these two sovereigns, and the advantages of their union, and the fruits of their alliance, extended to the people of Islám, and to the whole world.

Account of the Storming of Nardín.

The Sultán, in order to fulfil his previous vow, commanded a brisk march unto another conquest, which might be the margin of the ornamented title page of other victories and settlements, the record of which might adorn the page of time, the weight of whose glory might be a heavy load (of merit), and might be a cause of confirming the advancement and approximation of His Highness to glory, and of exalting his greatness. He therefore set off unto the lands of Hind, with the supporters

of truth, and chiefs of Islám, who are the stars of religion, and the stoners of devils (Verse)

"In their (the Hindu's) tumults the sword-edge stopped their fury;
"As to their people indigestion was appended to their wholesome food.
"The lion eats not of the limbs of their herd,
"On account of his gain of broken bones" (*of men*).

And upon arriving at the provinces of India, they began with open hand to devastate the lands, to punish the infidels, to overturn the idols, and to make an example of high and low; and as to the prince of those doomed ones, and the chief of those insignificant ones, they sent him abject and prostrate to hell, and for his viler followers scattered and dispersed them like leaves exposed to the wind. Thus he returned to Ghúzna, *safe and rich.* And when the King of Hind witnessed the marks of the wound of the Sultán's standard in the nearest and most distant part of his kingdom, and ascertained his weakness in resisting the army of Islám, he sent the chiefs of his kindred and the flower of his guards on an embassy to offer submission to the Sultán, and humbled himself, and bound himself to tribute and fidelity, and appointed sixty yokes of elephants to be sent by him as a service to his beloved fortune, and assigned a payment to be mutually arranged, which should be sent yearly by the nobles (freeholders) of that province, and the

people of that district, to his treasury. And that by way of acting as Viceroy, he should keep two thousand men at his Court, and that at all recurring days, and returning months and years, he should express fidelity to these conditions, and that the successors and sons of every one who should occupy royalty, and obtain command in India, should proceed upon this decree, and should obey and follow this law. The Sultán, for the glory of the faith and honour of Islám, was content with these conditions of pacification, and dispatched trustworthy persons to collect these revenues; and this secured tax became a fixed source of revenue in the book of the finance court of the Empire. Thus the road for caravans and merchants between the districts of Khurasán and Hind became open.

History of the Capture of Gúr.

The Sultán began to reflect and to be disgusted with the districts of Gúr, with the insolence of the inhabitants, and the insults (of those people) in the neighbourhood of his kingdoms and centre of his empire's circle, and began to be jealously indignant on account of their crimes and wickedness, and infidelity and disobedience, and their heavy imposts (by lying in wait) upon caravans and travellers. For he saw it not fitting that a people destitute of Faith's decoration, and marked with the brand of

infidelity, should through the prestige of their munitions of mountains and repelling cliffs, in the neighbourhood and vicinity of the powerful throne of royalty, display such arrogance and pretensions, and take upon themselves such enmity and forwardness. He resolved to correct and pinch them, and drew a considerable army of infantry and cavalry to those confines. And he appointed to the command of the army Altontash, his Chamberlain, who had been Prince of Herát, and Arslán-Jazib, a well-known and celebrated man of Multán. And they, in folding up those passages and halting places fell into straits, for all the people of the army of Gúr were entrusted with the guardianship of those defiles, and great battles took place between the two divisions, and they obtained not a hand's breadth of footing, except by the scimitar, and no other weapons were of service, and the swords took nothing, except to wait the opportunity of cutting to pieces, and daggers only fought with throats. And the Sultán, informed of this, forthwith arose, with a body of his own special slaves, and came to their aid, and step by step drove those wretches far from the defile, and their places of asylum and (repositories) of wealth, until he had scattered them all from the protection of their narrow passes and the benefit of their difficult ground, and opened a way for his infantry, and made a road to arrive close to the stronghold-nest of the king and chief,

whose name was Ibn-Súrí, and by a ravine (or village) named Ahingiran (?) came over to the sides of his fortress. He then issued out with ten thousand men, and drew up in line of battle against the Sultán, and by his opportunities of entrenching himself behind walls, and by reason of the aid he derived from his strong places of retreat and deep ditches, resisted half the day. Thus they continued striking on both sides in stubborn fight, and confused shootings and blows. But the Sultán ordered that they should turn their backs, as though his army were yielding and descending. These doomed ones were deluded with this deception, and the Hindú no longer held firm (to his ground) but, fascinated by a desire for plunder, came into the open plain, to see the flight. Upon this the Sultán wheeled round, and laid them all on the couch of sweet sleep, with death as their bedfellow. He took the son of Ibn-Súrí prisoner, and carried away as booty wealth and arms, which chief after chief and infidel after infidel had bequeathed, as inheritance. Thus the ensigns of Islám were displayed in those regions and coasts, and the renown of these great victories travelled throughout the world. Thus the Sultán, on the wing of success and the upraised pinion of good fortune, set off for Ghazna. As to the son of Sholi (*i. e.*, Súrí) when he saw himself disgracefully caught in the snare of imprisonment and the halter

of ruin, and when he saw the people of Islám lords of all the deposited wealth of his castle, he sucked a poisoned ring that was on his finger and resigned his soul to the Supreme.

Account of the Famine at Nísápúr.

In the year 401, in the province of Khurásán, generally, and in the city of Nisápúr, particularly, a wide-spread famine, and a frightful and calamitous scarcity occurred, such that the girdle of patience was too narrow to bear the measure of that distress and the pressure of that misfortune, so that, from the difficulty of finding food no strength remained, and every one ate the grain of the heart (*i. e.*, original sin, or misery) like the grains of the pomegranate from the skin (*i. e., innate corruption appeared in its effects).* All conveyed within their dwellings the vegetation and sprouts adapted for animals, as delicious food, until all cheeks withered, and all bright faces scattered their freshness like autumn leaves; vacant eyes fell into a pit and sweet lips were ruined. The nerves of articulate speech were unable to express clear chants by the organ of the tongue, and pearl-like teeth, from the saliva of inward fever, became yellow; sweet-scented mouths sent up to Heaven, from the burning flame of hunger, continual signs, and life, from the desolation of its lodging-body,

laid itself down at its halting-place or inn. Grains of wheat were more valuable than grains of pearl, and the Virgin's ear of corn in the heavens envied the esteem afforded to the ears of corn on earth. The granaries of those who laid up in store were as empty, *i. e.*, forlorn, as the heart of the mother of Moses, and the stomachs of the wealthy were as void as a drum: no trace of bread remained; and that which all coveted was annihilated. Such was the extent of the calamity that, in the district of Nisápúr, nearly 100,000 men perished, and no one was at liberty to wash, coffin, or inter them, but placed them in the ground in the clothes they had. Women and men, old and young, uttered cries for help, and, exclaiming "Bread! bread!" lay cold (in death) upon the spot. Some arrested their last breath by means of grass and hay, until all sustenance from sown fields and cultivated things were cut off, and that resource was also drawn beneath the veil, until they took the bones from the cemeteries, and broke them into small pieces, and boiled them, and, as when a butcher slaughters, the poor quarrelled for the bloody portions, and therewith quieted the cry of hunger and struggle to ward off the last agony. However every one who partook of these impurities fell upon the spot and yielded up life. Otbi says, I knew a man whom they were seeking and enquiring for, as heir to property that was falling in, but possessed not one grain of

wheat in reality or prospect. This man of noble feelings and high rank could in no way obtain grains of corn, so destitute had he become. And the intensity of this distress was so great that mothers ate their children and brothers made brothers' flesh the means of preserving life, and husbands killed their wives and boiled them, and cutting their members and limbs into pieces, dined upon them; and they seized men in the streets, killed and ate them, and people separating the flesh from the fat, would talk familiarly in the market and hold them up with the fingers, showing which of the joints and pieces of human flesh would best melt together (or cleaned the best joints and pieces of human flesh) and sold them in the market. And they seized many for this offence and found in their houses men's bones, and carried them to execution. But the source of this misery was not cut off, and no more animals, as dogs and cats, and such like, remained. And no one was so bold as to stir far from his house or to go far into the city, unless in company with others and well armed. A clever man, a theological Imám, went to visit the Imám Taib-Salaokí. The Imám Abú-Taib said: "It is long since you have set foot in my house or have directed your will towards me, what is the cause?" He replied: "My story is a strange story and a wondrous incident; if the Shaikh Imám, on account of its sin-

gularity, will allow me a hearing and grant me his illustrious attention I will tell a tale, how God, in my behalf, hath granted a solid favour and a generous interposition, and hath saved my life from the precipice of destruction." The Shaikh said: "You must tell the story, by all means." Then he said: "I was passing, at night-time, through such a street, when suddenly a snaring noose fell upon my neck, and, with successive stretchings, so compressed my throat that my breath was stopped, and from the violence of the strangling I became a prisoner, and went as the rope (pulled me) until it drew me to a certain lane, and an old woman ran out of the house, and both of them struck their knees upon the lower parts of my stomach, until from those injuries I became insensible, and had no knowledge of that which afterwards followed, until after a while, by means of fresh water which was thrown upon my face, I recovered, when I saw several sitting by my pillow and treating me kindly. They represented to me the conduct of these deceitful and designing people, and removed the curtain of concealment from the secret of the description of the event. Thus I became acquainted with the certainty of that affair, namely, that at the juncture of time when that man was dragging me, they were proceeding towards their residences and abodes, and that impure wretch was sharpening a knife to murder

me, when, being alarmed at them, he left me in that condition and fled, and after a little space I recovered my breath, and went home; but, from the horror of that affair, I was some days upon my bed, until Heaven was so gracious that the pain of that injury ceased. And when the marks and proofs of convalescence were perfect, I went, at the hour of dawn, to fulfil my religious duty at the mosque; and I went, at the time of the proclamation of prayer, to the minaret, to a seat, awaiting the hour of the proclamation. Suddenly a noose was in motion by my side, directed towards my throat. However the mercy of the Supreme interposed, and this attempt at injury missed my neck, and my handkerchief was the preservation of my life, and my turban remained in the knot of the noose. I ran down from the mizanat (*place where* the *Muezzin stands to proclaim the hour of prayer*) and made a vow that, for the space of this calamity and the days of this distress, I would never come from the house, except in bright day, and would go for all necessaries before the sun began to incline to twilight. These were the circumstances which hindered my service and prevented my presence." When I had concluded my tale all expressed astonishment at that blow and astounding event, and I sought the benignity of God, and fled to the canopy of his guardianship and compassion. And Master Abdul-Malik-Waíz, who was one of the

pious Imáms and esteemed for his good conduct, relates that on one day, during that distress, they carried four hundred from the streets of the city to the hospital, that I might arrange for them to be put into coffins and buried. (And another said) at evening prayer a baker, who was settled at the station of the flag of my serai, came to me and said: "To-day four hundred máns of bread remain, which no one demands." At this state of things I was surprised, that, even at times when food can be obtained, if God issues his decree and appoints the (prophetic) mirror of death for the people it is impossible to avert his judgment and to obstruct his preordaining decree. The talented of that time put forth poems, in commemoration of this scarcity. Abú-Mansúr, of Raí, the scribe, says (Verse)

"Oh what happened to men during the famine!
"What alternatives during that calamity!
"He who remained fixed at home died of hunger,
"Or (he who went abroad) witnessed others eating him" (who had died so).

And Abd Lekani says (Verse)

"Do not on any account go forth from the houses, whether there be need or whether there be no need;
"Fasten thy gates firmly with the bars,
"Lest the famishing hunt for thee and cook thee into broth."

And the Sultán during those days commanded, and sent an edict into the provinces of the king-

dom, ordaining that the revenue officers and magistrates should empty the granaries of corn, and distribute amongst the poor and wretched, and thus save them from the claws of destruction, and the talons of want. And that year came to an end in the same state, until the produce of the year 402 arrived, when the fire of that calamity was extinguished, and that extremity was remedied, and God sent down mercy, so that the appearance of seeds and the blessings of increase returned in their accustomed course. "What mercy does God open to man, and he will not take hold of it, and what does he hold and (man) will not send to him after it, although he be the mighty Ordainer." (Kurán).

ACCOUNT OF THE TWO KHÁNS, AFTER THEIR RETURN FROM MAWARANNAHR, AND THE AMBASSADORS WHOM THEY SENT TO THE SULTÁN.

The Sultán, after defeating the Turkish army, came to Jámúsán, and commanded that they should examine and spy the proceedings of Ilek-Khán and his brother, Togán-Khán, and the latter expressed some inclination towards the Sultán, and began to allude to the covenant and compact which had existed between them in former days; and by the tongue of messengers made overtures respecting a full discovery of the proceedings of Ilek-Khán, and

entered into treacherous (proposals) of gradually approaching and suddenly attacking his territory, and the parts about. And when Ilek-Khán became aware of these intrigues of his brother, and of his traitorous acts, and knew his baseness and rebellion, he determined to carry out abbreviated counsels as to him, and first to cut off the germ of all distress, a domestic adversary. He therefore marched with the army of Máwarannahr towards his territory, with the intention to encounter him. And when he passed Awazkand there was much snow, and he saw that the roads were obstructed, therefore he returned, until, at the time of the breaking of the weather, and the retrogression of the planets, and the opening of the winter, and the intercepting of the cold, and when the melting spring dissolved the silver of the snow upon the heated ground, and the hero Earth put off his mailed coat of ice, and the abundance of fresh herbage gave forth perfume, and the world became quite young, Ilek-Khán became eager for victory, and with his comrades marched forth towards his brother. Each of them had sent envoys to the court of the Ṣultán, who had much discussion and conference, and many disputes arose between them upon the subject of this treacherous proceeding. The Sultán displayed indifference to their abundant words and excessive series (of complaints), whilst they were knocking their heads together. After this he sent them an

invitation, and ordered that the banqueting room should be decked for horse races, and elephant fights. Around the circuit of the whole space there were two rows of Turkish Mamlúks and Gholáms in full splendour, so that if Karún had seen them he would have said (Verse)

> "Oh that I had what Mahmúd doth possess!
> How great must be his happiness!"

The following is a description of this assembly:—two thousand young Turkish Officers were arranged in rows opposite one another, dressed in embroidered coloured robes, and five hundred of his own guards were stationed near the company, in vests of silk, and girdles of gold set with pearls, resting upon their shoulders Indian scimitars in golden sheaths, forty yokes of elephants were arranged in front of the assembly, in trappings of Grecian silk, harness of woven gold, and metal appendages of new gold set with valuable pearls and gems. Then behind each of the two rows were seven hundred camel elephants, like mountains in appearances and devils in make, in splendid housings and painted trappings, with collars of gems. The body of the army was clothed in coats of mail worthy of David, and drew Frank helmets over their heads, and the infantry of the army advancing on the green space (?) drew their swords, and fixed their javelins, and the whole company of the Chamberlains stood

before the Sultán like the sun and moon, and reaching their hands, grasped their scimitars, fastening their eyes and ears upon the (least) sign of the Sultán, and they introduced the envoys, who from awe at this array, exhibited the expressions of the most perfect devotion to the throne, and fulfilled all the established rules and duties of service and obedience, and they introduced the envoys to the head of the table, into the palace of hospitality, when they saw a paradise adorned with fish ponds, with gold and silver ceilings, furnished with jewelled vessels, and lofty courts, and beautiful furniture. Before the Sultán's throne was a golden peacock, and the slabs of the throne were joined with gold wire, and silver nails, the carpets were of Greek and sewed silk. At the upper part of the assembly room was placed a dais, at the edges of which were partitioned off closets, square, hexagon, and circular: every closet was filled with different kinds of jewels, so that the rays of their brilliancy clouded and confused the eye, and all acknowledged that during the whole time of the Khosroes of Persia, the Cæsars of Greece, the Kails of Arabia, and the Rajahs of Hind, they had never heard the record of any such precious gems as these. All around the assembly room were placed boxes of musk, amber, Romaic camphor, pure aloes wood, dried citrons and oranges dipped in fragrant perfumes, and various kinds of golden fruits and dates,

with clusters of grapes made of rubies, and when they introduced the wine, the private cupbearers, like veiled jewels and treasured pearls, caused to circle merrily wine bright as the eyes of the cock. The envoys expressed astonishment and amazement at the decorations of this banquet, and when in due time they requested their audience of leave, the Sultán expressed to them his sincere wish for the prosperity and glory of their Sovereign. And thus the dust of dispute between the two brothers was laid, whilst the Sultán continued to mediate between them, and their affairs were thus decided, and settled, so that each replaced the sword of ill-will in the scabbard, and remained contented with his own territory. Their entire history shall be completed in another place, if God will.

Account of the Capture of Kasdár.

When the Sultán's mind was at rest from the quarter of the Turks, and had chaunted respecting their condition the verse "Their power is great between them, if it is united, but their hearts are divided," (Kurán), and had testified, in those events, the veracity of the fortunate miracle of the verse, "We have sent between them enmity and hatred for ever;" so that the trace of the (external) enmity of the two brothers was plucked up by his firm bravery; he determined to march towards

Kasdár, in order that the vain pride of the Prince of that country, which he had long endured with self-restraint, might be stripped off from his intellect by the (sharp) snuff (or sneezing powder) of the sword, and that the demon of darkness, who had displayed masterful and rebellious (inclinations) by intercepting money, might be confined in the bottle* of victory; by the tingling of Indian scimitars; and that his fine cliffs and commanding mountains, which were the motives of his rage, and the cause of his ambition, might be marked like a withered branch by his sweetly-sounding drumstick, and might be given, as stirred-up dust, to the wind. He commanded the army to move from Ghúzna, by way of Bost, so that a report was spread that his intention was to attack Herát; but a turning took him to the territory of Kasdár. And the Prince of that country was disturbed from the couch of sleep before the shining of the eastern flames of the sun, by the heavy forces of the Sultán around his castle, and was conscious of death before him, and ran out to seek his patronage, and threw himself at the hoofs of the Sultán's horse, and took upon himself five hundred packets of a thousand dirams which were due. Part he paid in

* Bottle of victory: perhaps alluding to the bottle or casket in which a rebellious Jin was imprisoned for centuries, which is an incident in one of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments.

ready money, but the Sultán demanded the remainder with reproaches, and seized fifteen yoke of elephants, which he had stored up for times and seasons of war, and compelled him to pay dutiful submission and obedience, and to engage that he would facilitate the collection of the revenue, and settle the payment of the imposts. And thus he gave the signal to display his banners anew, and with the fulfilment of his wishes, and completion of his happiness, set forward to Gházna.

Account of Shar Abú-Nasr-Muhammad-'bn-Asad and his Son, the Shár Abú-Muhammad.

They call the king who guides the affairs of the people of Garjístan (Georgia) the *Shár*, as the Turks, Hindus, and Greeks call their respective princes the Khán, the Rai, and the Czar. The Shár of Garjistán was Abú-Nasr, until his son Muhammad arrived at manhood, and he, by the power of youth, and the favour and consent of his comrades, became ruler of the kingdom, which his father, going into retirement, resigned to him. This Prince, by reading books and conversing with the worthy, became highly accomplished, and enjoying the sweetness of learning, was not content with the pleasures of royalty, or the luxuries of earth. The honourable of the world, and the industrious of the age, regarded his Court as the object of their hopes,

and the true Kaaba of petitions and requests. They resorted to him from all portions and districts of the world, as the direction of the thought of success, and the brisk market of petitions. And Abú-Alí-Símjúr, when he began to rebel against King Núr, wished to take Garjístan under his own direction, and to bring the Shár under obedience to himself. But both the Shárs placed the hand of repulsion in the face of his desire, and declined all idea of submitting to any other individual's sway, in the room of that suzerainty of the family of Sámán; obedience to whom had been their perfume and livery, and under the protection of whose sway so long a time had passed. Relying therefore upon the defence of their castles, and the ruggedness of their country, they sent a reply to Abú-Alí. And Simjúr sent Abúl-Kásim, the priest, with a body of the lords of the fief and nabobs of the state, to oppose them. And this army, in traversing the space between the two regions, cut through several mountains on a level with the heavens, and parallel to the horizon, and passed some defiles narrower than the eye of a needle, or than the pressure point of a swaddling band, and stood against them in several stations, engaging them in battle, and many heads were scattered like leaves from the trees, and blood flowed like a stream upon the surface of the earth. And they turned the two Shárs from difficulty to difficulty, until they com-

pelled them to take refuge in a castle at the extremity of their kingdom, so lofty that the ropes of the clouds would be broken in reaching it, and the eagle's wing fractured in rising to it. And Abúl-Kásim took this country, and laid hand upon their treasure, their magazines, and their goods, and took all into his grasp, until the Amír Nasr-Addin came to the defence. Then Abú-Alí became occupied in heart, and summoned back Abúl-Kásim. And the two Shárs joined the body of the Chiefs of Nasr-Addín in supporting the sovereignty of Núh. So they revenged themselves on Abú-Alí, and saw him subject to their wish, and came to the head (possession) of their kingdom and territory, and there, in short, passed their time in peace and quietness, until the time of the Sultán Yamín-Addoulah.

Utbi relates: When the lords of the provinces bound themselves to allegiance to the Sultán, and at the coronation hurrah reached forth their hands in expressing obedience to him, and decorated the pulpits by the commemoration of his titles, they sent me to the Shárs as an envoy to receive their homage. And when I arrived there they met me with perfect honour, and with sincere eagerness and true zeal, proclaimed him on the top of the roof, and placed on the edge of their coined money the august name of the Sultán, in the year 389. And during my presence (at the Court) letters arrived from the parties who had been defeated at Merú (?)

in which a request was made for reinforcements and succour in the war. And the two Shárs being summoned to the war, the Shár Abú-Nasr wrote letters to me, and sent a note to me, supplicating that I would send his kind respects to the Sultán, and assure him of his firm and dutiful attachment to His Majesty, and his opposition to all the adversaries of the empire. I in reply wrote this extract to him, "I hoped that God would prolong the continuance of the Shár," &c., &c. "And praise to God who hath caused the swords of our lord the Sultán to be proclaimed in the pulpits of the God-fearing."*

This affair indeed fell out according to the settled conclusion of my discernment, and in the end the news arrived that Ilek-Khán had come to Bukhárá, and was made king, and had taken captive the greater part of the army, and put them in chains, and the rest of the people were scattered and dispersed. And I, on account of the request of the two Shárs, sent letters to the Sultán, and their condition was in the end safely settled in the most satisfactory manner, and their affairs fell out happily, and their rank became well grounded, and their (welfare) was bound up by the Sultán with

* The design of Utbi, in this letter, was to give an obscure intimation of his want of confidence in the Shárs, and to convey a hint of the consequences which would follow any treachery to the Sultán.

the absolute necessity of things. And the son of this King Shár came to pay his respects at the Sultan's throne, and found the most perfect accessibility and freedom. He was for some time attached to the Court, great and honoured; but he moved plans of wickedness and folly inconsistent (with this treatment), and unbecoming words of deceit and treachery towards the kingdom appeared to be uttered by him, that in kings' courts are the cause of punishment and reproof. By this crime he became like a dissevered branch to His Highness the Sultán, who however looked with an eye of pardon and connivance upon his error, until he requested his dismissal, when the Sultán presented him with suitable gifts and a valuable dress of honour, and thus he found who was the supporter of his honour and the strengthener of his glory. Thus he departed, and affairs for some time remained in the same state, until he conceived the design of further conquest, and wished to collect a numerous army from all quarters, and to be reinforced with great numbers and strength. He therefore dispatched an edict to the Shár, and expected great benefits from him, in requital of the solid and generous favours which the Sultán had granted to him. But the hand of factiousness had seized his skirt, so that he interposed senseless excuses, and weak pretexts, and took the path of delay and torpidity, until his rebellion became plain. And the Sultán,

passing by his immediate business, addressed himself to this affair, and giving a reply to Shams, departed for that expedition upon the horse of victory. And mutual letters passed between him and the Shár, and the Sultán summoned him to trial, and in the midst of the royal order which had appointed the cause to be tried, he commenced some overtures towards reconciliation and approximation; recommending the Shár to institute humanity for harshness, and to surcease from such a display of suspicion and alienation; "that he wished not, that the conduct which he had displayed towards him should become ineffectual through a single error, and that the plant of kindness which he had fixed in his behalf should through one slip be rooted up by him." The Shár became still more alarmed at this gentleness, and by Heavenly decree bound the garland of destruction upon his brow, until he appeared in open rebellion against the Sultán. The Sultán sent to engage with him the Lord Chamberlain Altontásh, and Anslán-Jazib. They directed their course towards his territory, and they carried with them Abúl-Hasan, who was Prince (literally, *bailiff*) of Merúrúd, on account of the familiarity possessed by him of the windings of those narrow paths, and the clefts of those rocks. And thus they entered into those confines with an army, excellent for their experience in important actions, and for their

eagle vision in war, who cut like Egyptian iron, and dived into rivers like crocodiles, and found their way into the passes and ravines of earth like snakes. They took therefore possession of the country. And the father Shár, through the experience of life, well knowing the end of such actions and the practical consequences of meddling in serious times, sought protection in entreating quarter, and requested to capitulate, and fled to the patronage of the guidance and aid of the Chamberlain Altontash, and sought help against the disobedience and rebellion of his son, and declared that he had no part either in his active or passive misconduct, and requested not to be connected with his rebellious and infidel measures, and asked the General's conciliatory intercession with the Sultán, representing his sincere fidelity to his the suzerain empire, and the brightness of his walk and throne, as respects obedience to the Sultán. They conveyed him with the utmost honour and respect to Herát, and they sent a royal missive from the Sultán accepting his apology, and commending his obedience. Thus they took him unto the pledge of peace. But his son fortified himself in a castle, which had been their place of refuge during the time of the family of Símjúr, and which has been previously mentioned. To this place he transported his treasure, slaves, and furniture. The

Chamberlain Altontash, and Arslán-Jazib came down and encompassed this fortress (Verse)

"All around this castle were iron-clothed men,
"On all sides of the fortress was an iron-cutting circle."

The Sultán's army levelled great and small slinging machines and batteries towards the side of the castle, and brought one side of the wall to the ground. And the men of the army ran up to those walls like deer, laying their hands to dart and sword, and drew abundance of red (blood) upon the traitor castle. But the Shár perceiving that he was losing hold, sought to escape and requested terms, in order that by supplication and submission, the intoxicated retribution of that terrible (army) might cease, and that he might throw water upon the fire of the anger of those troops. But he discovered, that the enraged lion, when in the extremity of fury he has reached his prey with his claws, relinquishes not his sought object, and that the deadly snake, when in the utmost rancour he determines to sting, withdraws not his irremediably (wounding) teeth. Therefore this devastation went on, until they seized him, and expelled him from the castle, and made booty of his treasure and property. They also took his Vizier, who was the depository of news, and the bag of secrets to him, and placed him upon the

square torture instrument (*i. e. possibly an instrument that tortures the four limbs)* until he gave up his most valuable jewels and precious treasures, and presented the account book of the remaining sums due from the collectors and revenue officers, to obtain it from whom they deputed responsible persons. They appointed Abúl-Hasam to the consolidated charge of attending to the affairs of the country, the throne, and the imposts of those lands, and directed him to arrange the expenses of those regions, and entrusted the fortress to him as confidential Kutwál; and an order came from the Sultán to convey the Shár to the presence, and a strict charge arrived to use him favourably, and to supply him; and in delivering him up to the Sultán, they conveyed him towards Ghazna in a closed litter which he had (Takhti band). They say, that one of his confidential guards wished to write a letter home; and to make known the description of the circumstances of that journey He called the Shár in the litter, and pressed him to compose that letter, the Shár in his distress was vexed with the importunity and impertinence of his inconsiderate Ghulám, and taking the pen, began the letter, writing thus to his wife—"Oh thou bad old woman, perhaps you think that I care not for your extravagance and wickedness in spending my property upon your own will and pleasure, or that I know not how you are passing your time

continually in wickedness, in drinking and in squandering money by expending it in every way of iniquity and perverseness; how you are occupied every day in abundance, and every night in splendour, with merriment, luxury, and art, giving my house to the wind, and casting away my honour. If I return I will give you your due, and place your just recompense in your bosom." He wrote the letter with this playfully high flown language, and fastened it up, and gave it to his guard, and when it reached his wife, she was astounded, and doubted not but that some enemy had made this frightful picture (of her conduct), or that some ill-willer had made it the means of spite. She left her house, and in alarm and disquietude fled to some corner, and when the Ghulám came to his home, he found his residence as empty as a reaped field, and saw no trace of his lady and servants, he remained in confusion, and sought from his neighbours the explanation of this matter. They announced to him the fact of the letter, and recited his abusive and odious words. He cried out for help, and occupied himself in soothing his wife's heart, and in appeasing her, and removing her terror and alarm, and brought his wife home again quiet and confiding. They told this story of the Shár's calumnies to the Sultán, who smiled at his teazing moroseness, and ordered that whosoever he appointed to serve the Shár, who did not serve

him with patience and readiness should receive such a retribution.

And when the Shár arrived at the Durbár of the Sultán, he ordered them to throw him down, and to give him a rubbing with the whip, in order to correct and punish him, and they imprisoned him; and the Sultán gave a charge to provide duly for the times of his eating food, but so that the consent of the Sultán in that respect should be concealed, that it might not be a cause of boldness, audacity, and impurity. And he made a request that they would send to him one of his favourite guards, and that out of his property, household utensils and furniture, they would restore to him what was necessary for him, to which request the Sultán acceded. And they brought the father from Herát to the Sultán's presence, who ordered that they should observe carefully all respect unto him, and the Sultán commanded that they should free their possessions and farms from the brand of disgrace, and the mark of suspicion whereby they had been annexed to the other royal estates (confiscated). And he relinquished the splendour of their wealth to their own disposal, to be expended upon their comfort or their necessities, and the Shaikh Khalil was appointed to attend to Shár Abú-Nasr, who retained him under the protection of his encompassing care, until he departed to the neighbourhood of the mercy of Him who is Truth.

ACCOUNT OF THE EVENT AT NAZÍN.

The Sultán, Yamin-Addoulah, in the year 400, having taken India and proceeded into the most distant limits of the land, into regions where Islám had never displayed her standards, and unto parts whereunto the wondrous verses of the Muhammadan profession had never extended, having purified that region from the darkness of denial, and having lighted the blazing torches of the Law in those tracts and towns, having founded mosques, and having exhibited the perusal of the noble book in the verses of the glorious Kurán, in the audible prayer-summons, and in the other signs of the belief; wished to take possession also of the remainder of the land of those vile ones, and to bring ruin upon those enemies of the faith and servants of idols, and to subdue, by the cutting proofs of the sword, the deniers of the unity and glory of God, to catch in the snare of Islám that owl of their confidence, who was hooting in the duskiness of novel errors. Therefore he summoned his victorious armies and heroic bands, and covered them with great honour and eloquent commendation, erecting, as the guide of his plans and the Kiblah of his devoted ones, that verse of the glorious Kurán, "He hath incited the believers; God is able to make them sufficient (to cope with) the powers of those who believe not, for God is mighty

in force and mighty to subdue." And, thus strengthened by the breastplate of purity and pardon, with the pearl of self-command, and the gem of confidence in the help of Heaven, he marched towards his business, with an army of the stars of this world and of the other, with a most lofty assembly. And when he arrived at those territories much snow had fallen, and the mountains and the plains were sprinkled and the roads closed; and a severe frost arose, and the highways were obliterated; so, by the force of necessity, he turned aside from those coasts and came to Ghazna, and displayed great zeal in perfecting his preparations and in exhorting the nobles of the empire, until the face of spring appeared, and the (defying) shout of frost was silenced by the dread of the sword of the sun, and the temperature became equable. Then he commanded that happy work to begin, and, like the green sea raging and roaring, put himself in motion and turned towards those accursed men. And, when he arrived near the enemy, he occupied himself in arranging his army. He posted Amír Nasr on the right, and committed the left to the care of Arslán-Jazib, and Abú-Abdullah-Tái in front, in the van, and the Lord Chamberlain Altontásh, with his private guards, in the centre. But the King of India, terrified at that army, sat down under the protection of the mountain, fortifying himself, and took

refuge in a pass between ten high mountains, and strengthened the approaches to those narrownesses by mountain-like elephants, and wrote to seek aid from the provinces of his country, and summoned the cavalry and infantry of his kingdoms, and embraced the expedient of delay, thinking that procrastination and tediousness would thus obstruct the army of Islám in attaining their end, until perhaps, by length of time and long continuance in their position, they might be alarmed and turn back from that attempt at battle, and from that invasion. When the Sultán, dreading their deep and secret perfidy and fraud, incited the men of Dilem and the Afgháns against them, stirring them up to occupy the declivities, and, like an attracting magnet of victory, to draw them to themselves. When, therefore, they descended from their narrow passes into the open plain, they picked them up like a bird picking up grains with a sharp beak. Several days passed in this manner, until the ropes of the deniers became collected, and a great army joined the infidels, so that from Hind and Sind, and all quarters, there was (an army) blowing-up fire, seeking tumult, making self-restraint to repose, bearing aid, and inclined to succour the head of destruction, the fountain of strife. They directed themselves against them, they raised the shout of battle, and joined in array, and drew around the army the obstruction of the giant ele-

phants. Thus the fire of war was burning, and the combatants of the two armies raged like hornets in the heat, and seized one another by the collar, and pierced each other's head and breast by the wounds of the sword; and heads were cast upon the battle-plain like balls, and wherever the elephants came into the engagement the Muslim army, with spears and arrows, cut through their throats and trunks. And these Kaffirs beheld the strength and experience of Abdulláh-Táí, how active he was in battle and war, and in (shedding) blood and killing chiefs, and therefore they turned towards him with a compact band of warriors and with a number of heroes (literally, stirrers of the fire, pokers) and attacked him on all sides with severe wounds. And he withstood them like an excited male elephant, and to obtain victory for Islám exposed himself freely and offered his life a sacrifice to martyrdom. And when the Sultán saw him in the claws of that distress, he sent some stars from his special guards to help him, that they might rescue him from the claws of those accursed ones. And, as his body was all eyes, like a sieve, and his frame all rings, like a coat of mail, the Sultán ordered that they should place him upon an elephant, that the pain of his wounds might be healed, and receive refreshment and solace. And the flame of battle blazed in this manner, until Heaven quenched it with the water of victory, and

at one blast of the good fortune of Mahmúd all their chiding abundance of men was cut up, and all their affairs scattered like dust, and throughout the extent of plain and mountain, and the land of hill and valley, the sword of Islám destroyed them. And they made prizes of their property and elephants, and nobles and people, on account of the advantage of that wealth, and the enjoyment of that plunder, became placed on an equality, and arrived at a high degree of satisfaction and competency. Thus this territory became exalted amongst the extent of Islám, and this victory was perpetuated in the register of the expeditions, and in the chronicles of the conquests of the Sultán Yamín-Addoulah, and this fair deed, and eminent glory became the buttress of his fame, and the band of his prosperity.

And they brought out of the idol temple an engraved stone, upon which they had fastened a writing to the effect that it was forty thousand years since that building was constructed. And the Sultán expressed surprize at this extreme error and folly, for all the learned in rules, and skilled in guidance have agreed that the extent of the world's age is not more than seven thousand years, and in these times there is every indication of the (approaching) judgment, and evidences of the decay of the world. Histories are alleged for this, and the Kurán's witnessing confirmation is to the dis-

cerning intellect an essential fact, and to the far-seeing is a guide (to the truth). In these matters we must be content with the eyes of the learned and the explication of the wise, who all deny the assertion, and agree that the testimony of this stone is all a falsehood and untruth, and a mere invention of these bewildered liars.

And the army of Islám came to Ghazna with that boundless wealth, and those numberless sums of money, so that the forces of the foot soldiers of Islám were retarded in proceeding through India, and slaves fell in value to that extent, that the poor and humble became lords, and possessors of many slaves and goods beyond computation. "This super-effluence (of prosperity) God causes to come upon whomsoever He will, for He is bountifully wise."—Kuran.

Account of the Affairs of Tánishar.

It came to the ears of the Sultán, that in the country of Tánishar there were many of that peculiar species of elephant, which they call Silmán. The prince of this country was high amongst the ungrateful deceivers, and of exalted relations amongst the rebellious and the sinful. Therefore he was one who merited that they should give him to drink a cup of the wine of the strokes of Islám's sword, and that by means of the flame of the onset

of her champions, they should strike into his essence the due of wickedness, so making him to know, that to drink their turns of this cup, and their turns of this calamity is the doom of the universal Kaffir people, and that as other chiefs and deceivers of India have been sharers and partakers thereof, so his face could not be free, nor his path an asylum from the equitable sword; the Sultán thought good then to design this conquest, that thus the standard of Islám might be exalted by victory, and the figures of idols might be inverted by success in war. Accordingly he marched towards Tánishar with an army which had been educated in the chamber of the sacred war, and been trained by grace from on high, and contracted friendship with sword and spear, and obtained an acquaintance with infidel's blood, and in the windings of those marches they passed a desert so dreadful, that a bird would not fly over its atmosphere, and a star would lose its way on its expanse, a place which nothing traversed but the wind, and on which nothing cast a shade except the Sun, without a report of water, or a vestige of habitation. But Providence granted aid, and they came out from that idolatrous and disgusting place, and arrived at (the enemy's land). And before them they found a great river, a running stream full of water, lofty mountains, and the ground impracticable stone. Now the infidel sought his aid in those

mountains, and became inspirited by their encircling assistance. The army of the Sultán passed that water by two fords, and engaged the idolatrous forces on two sides. And when the king-falcon, the sun, hung his claws upon the curtain of his western retirement, (the day having been matured), the men of Islám made a charge, and scattered them all about the skirt of the rocks, and they took the path of flight and preservation from the heat of that battle and onset. And as for those stamping elephants and serried monsters which constituted the point of their confidence, and their remaining force, they left them on the spot, the Sultán's elephants went after them, and brought them all to the Sultán's halter-place. The army spilt so much blood that the water of that river was so full, and that stream so abundantly stained with gore, that it could not be used for purification and was forbidden to drinkers, and if the darkness of the night had not prevented it, not one of these wretches would have escaped with life,—all through the blessing which is upon Islám, and the wondrous religion of Muhammád, unto which by the kind promise of Heaven victory is pledged, and for the manifestation of whose sayings, the standard of the glorious Kurán speaks plainly, "He unto whom He sent his Apostle to guide him, and the faith of truth to lighten all to religion, even although the idolaters hate it."—Kuran.

ACCOUNT OF THE VÍZIR, ABÚL-ABBÁS-'BN-FAZL-'BN-AHMAD.

This Vizíer was one of the most celebrated book-students and one of the most eminent friends of Fáik, and when the Sultán had been settled upon the seat of authority at Nisápúr, he was about (the person of) the Amír Násir-Addín, well known to him on account of his perfect intelligence, fidelity, and penetration. Therefore he wrote a letter to Prince Núh, demanding him, in order that the Sultán might be established by the sufficiency of his counsels, and might be distinguished by the badge of his vizírát. Prince Núh consented, and, sending a letter to Abúl-Abbás, directed him to proceed to Nisápur, to be ready for the orders of Nasir-Addin. Thus he came to Nisápúr, and the Sultán appointed him steward of his household (although the exemplary Shaikh, Jalil-Shams-al-Kafát, was settled at his Court, whose skill in books and accounts, whose firmness, rectitude, and high-mindedness in directing and instructing he knew, and was aware that, in his freshness of youth and acceptable juvenility, he was without a rival amongst his friends and companions, whilst in acute and able experience no man of his circle approached him). However (as his father had shut the door of office upon his back, and the calumnies and rivalries of fraudful ill-willers had come to such a point that he became a

martyr by the hand of Nasir-Addin, who, when the truth was unfolded, repented, but to no purpose "When I saw that I had killed him I repented about him") he took an aversion to his son, and his heart was never settled with regard to him, and, according to the saying, "Good-will soon flies," became suspicious of his fidelity. Nor could the Sultán, in opposition to his father's content, distinguish him by any advantageous employment in his divan, or ask his advancement, on account of his own choice. The heavenly decree and divine foreordinance preserved and wrapped the dress of that great rank and the robe of that weighty business in the treasury of His mysteries, until the time that, from the door and walls of Khurásán, it was shown to him that they had found this robe of State to be adapted only for his high-statured intellect, and placed this seat only for his exalted qualities and disposition. "What mercies hath God opened to men and they will not grasp them."—Kuran.

The Sultán then followed the opinion and accorded with the feelings of his father, bestowing the office of Vízier upon Abúl-Abbás, and he, following the footsteps of great men and their greediness of gain, extended his hand, and collected much wealth and treasure, and employed his stewardship of the world and authority in the kingdom only in making excessive demands, in-

creasing and unlawful, so that right rule, justice, and equity were banished far from abodes, from society, from the people, until, by his means, all cultivation and all abiding places in Khurásán were devastated, so that, during his time, the helpless ryots and rich masters sat down in the dwelling of poverty, and became needy and pauperized, so that smoke arose from no chimney, and one heard the cock crow from no village, for the farmers and cultivators, on account of these distresses, misfortunes, and hard fate, left their homes and held their hand from sowing, so that the sources of revenue were broken off, and the collection of taxes, on account of the slenderness of the residue, were exhausted. Thus the sustentation of the army and the means of supporting the forces were diminished, and throughout the kingdom frightful ruin and a hideous appearance were evident, and a cry for help arose from all quarters, and this cry of the oppressed reached to Heaven. The Sultán began to be anxious respecting the diminution of the levies and the breaking up of the imposts, and began to open the book of reproof with the Vízier, and to call him to an account for the debts of this destruction and mismanagement. But he, in his hastiness and want of restraint, returned a rude reply and made a claim to an acquittance, and attributed the grounds of the dispute unto others. And whenever the Sultán proceeded to extreme

reproof upon this subject, he begged to be relieved from that office and expressed a wish to be redeemed from that employment, and declared his readiness to be dismissed and to be made to vanish (from life). And the notables of the kingdom interposed between him and the Sultán, suggesting that he should oblige himself to an accommodation and give personal security, and should render a satisfactory account. But he stood out obstinately, so that the Sultán did not obtain one silver drachm from him, unless he, perchance, would do so by depriving and imprisoning him. Thus he spoke with tiresome and offensive arguments. Then the Sultán appointed a landholder, Abú-Ishak Muhamnad-'bn-Husain, who was captain of Balkh, to settle the accounts of the revenue and to realize the residue of the imposts. And he came to Herát, in the year 401, and, by his fair management and gentle sway, collected a great sum, and in a short time sent large loads to the Treasury. And Abúl-Abbáss was still settled upon the seat of the Vizirát, and the Shaikh Jalíl-Shams-Al-Kafát sincerely exerted himself to arrange reconciliation between him and the Sultán, so that possibly the accidental harshness of the Sultán might have ceased, and the influence of the Vizier thoroughly re-established. But he, through the bent of his uncompromising temperament and harsh nature, still obstinately persisted in disputing, and

of his own choice went to the citadel of Ghazna, and declared that he was content to be imprisoned, and, making a division between his furniture and his accumulations, sent one portion to the Sultán.

At this proceeding the Sultán was enraged, and, for his traitorous injury to the country and impoverishment of the condition of the subjects, subjected him to a criminal fine of 100,000 dínárs. He occupied himself in paying the amount, and discharging a portion; but, as to the residue, he represented his poverty, and requested patience and a more extended time. But the Sultán ordered that they should put him to his oath upon the point of his poverty, and they tortured his crime upon him by the effusion of his blood, so that whether he was dumb or spake, whether he said much or little, he met with no success, since they were determined to ruin and afflict him. And they closed all access to his sons and his friends, when they appointed to visit him, and at length brought him to such a condition that he revealed that some of his stores were with a certain merchant, whom they for that reason despatched, by various kinds of torture and misery. But the standards of the Sultán were far distant, on account of his successive conquests, and the great space between them prevented him from witnessing his state or discovering his affairs, and thus, through the castigation of torture and the blows of the

club and pain, he was laid in the grave, in the year 404. And when the Sultán returned they informed him of his affair, and the Sultán was oppressed at the heart, when he heard what had happened; however the disposal of Heaven was the agent herein, and the event was advantageous. And, during the time of his administration, his son, Abúl-Kasim-Mahummad-Ibn-al-Fazl, had arrived at the highest degree of virtuous distinction. In eloquence and in composition he was the paragon of his age, and at the head of all poets, both in blank verse and rhyme. His fame spread through all the regions of Khurásán, and his verses and measures were noted and published. These stanzas are from a kasidah which he spoke upon his father's merit (Verse)

"Truly the liberality of Abúl-Abbas augments by usury, it increases fourfold on demand.

"In one hand there is death for the multitude, in the other life for him who hopes," &c.

His brother Abú-Alí-bn-Fazl, surnamed Al-Hajjáj, was the inheritor of their accomplishments, distinguished by steady conduct in youth and maturity, decorated with an acute intellect, the garden of modesty being in him adorned with the fruitfulness of eloquence. He for some time wore the robe of revenue collector of Juzján, with efficiency and gratification. The country of Nisá

had for some time the advantage of his administration, when even Kadies were distressed at his noble ideas. His fidelity and care were conspicuous amidst officers and magistrates, and in him the virtues of his ancestors were renewed (Verse)

"Men name the father and his times,
"Men name the son, and thus both (names) are augmented (with renown).
"And as in the father so in the son, their noble patronage is exalted.
"As in the prophet of God *two* mansions were raised on high" (*i. e., the descendants of Fatima and Abú-Bakr, or Hasán and Hussain*).

Account of the Shaikh Khalíl-Abúl-Kásim-Ahmad-'bn Husain.

During the reign of the Sultán this Shaikh was Royal Munshí at Khurasán, and to him was confided the Divan (or Committee board) of correspondence, which is the depository of secrets. His powerful intellect and intelligence, &c., shone like the sun's rays throughout all Khurasán, and the fame of his elegant pen, gentle nature, penetrating intelligence and lofty views with regard to worldly things and money, was diffused around. He rose by degrees to various ranks in the Sultán's service, until he was appointed to the Divan of Presentations (*Master of Bequests*), and on account of his preponderance, the Sultán assigned him the

high employment, and responsible office of collecting the revenue and levies of those regions, and in all affairs which in guiding those provinces came into his consideration, he displayed all the evidences of wisdom, efficiency, care and fidelity. Thus he attained renown, and his humanity, bounty and liberality were in every mouth, so that they came from all parts of the world to him, as the object of their hopes and petitions. He was like rain in his care and attention to all, the proofs of his kindness and generosity could be established only by the testimony of observation and by the eyes. And the Vízíer Abúl-Abbás derived information from his enlightened sufficiency in affairs of State, and formed a special intimacy with him, as well for his sagacity as on account of his office which he held so near to His Majesty, and when the Sun of that vizérát was eclipsed by the excrescence of dismissal, whilst the Sultán happened to be engaged in the conquest of Názdín, he committed to the care of the Shaikh Khalil all the affairs of his Divan, charging him with the care of his Court and household, and the outgoings of the revenue, and sending him a patent, whereby he was appointed to superintend all that was brought or accrued to the royal treasury, and although he did not receive the name of Vízíer, yet the whole business of the kingdom was fully appropriated to him. And whilst the vizárát lay under the curtain of dismissal, the Sultán

issued a royal order, by which he summoned the collectors of Khurasán to the presence, and demanded their accounts, and they accordingly attended at the Court; at that time the Sultán had resolved to turn back, and he appointed a number of his army and serving followers over the head of the collectors to act as motives to them, that by the most disgraceful coercion, they might bring in the greater possible amount of revenue. And while this was going on, the Sultán placed him upon the seat of authority, and honoured him with the robe of Vízíer, and delivered into his hand the power of binding and loosing, of imprisoning and liberating. This Shaikh Khalil devoted himself with prudent efficiency, to expedite, to enter in day books, to settle and to arrange the Customs and scattered business, and compelled the collectors to zeal and duty, and purified the extent of the kingdom from its destruction and decay. He placed Abú-Ishak, one of the Divan over the collectors of Khurasán, and in conducting his office he shone like his father as administrator and counsellor of the throne, and when the standard of the Sultán returned to Ghazna, and he saw that by the wise and happy management and rule of his Vízíer, the affairs of State were settled in a well ordered course, and all affairs of collection secured, confirmed and guarded, he sent him to the Súbah of Khurasán, that he might attend to the weakness which he had

discovered there, and put in a proper way of proceeding the revenues so much diminished and fallen away, and prescribe good and acceptable regulations for Khurasán. The Shaikh Khalil went therefore to Herát, and the dread of his command and rule bound the hands of oppressors behind their back, and overthrew the flags of darkness, and whatever they had acquired out of the receipts and expenditure by means of confusion and in time of tumult, and whatever they had collected by extortion and procuration, that he seized from them, and thus by his gentle vigour, he dispatched to His Majesty an amount of gold and silver, of plate, ready money, and vessels dedicated to pious uses, the like whereof had at no time ever reached the treasury of any king from Khurasán.

And the people of Khurasán sent statements and notes to the Court, discovering the evil practices of the Diván lord (*i. e.*, whom the Vízier had sent thither). The Sultán issued an order to enquire into the truth of this, and sent commissioners to realize and sell his property. They obtained much wealth from him: he gave up whatever ready money and furniture and vessels he possessed, and sold the residue of his slaves, but was excused the payment of the rest which he had sold. And whereas the Vízier Abúl-Abbás possessed no capital stock in the business of writing,

and profited not at all in handling the pen, and in lecturing on good manners (*i. e.*, belles lettres, *humanities*) so that, in his time, they translated the State writings into Persian, and thus the market of the excellent was ruined and the splendour of eloquent authors became slender, so that the learned and foolish, the virtuous and insignificant, were reduced to the level of the same rank. When the Shaikh Khalíl adorned the Musnud of Vizier he brought the stars of authors from the gulphs of declination to the zenith of glory, so that the rose of ingenuity and distinction budded in the breeze of his favour, and the countenance of the clever was exalted in his fostering abode. He commanded that the State writers should avoid Persian, and that as an established rule all diplomas, orders, and preaching, (*or public proclamations*) should be written in Arabic, except where the proclaimers did not know or understand Arabic. His orders and intimations were famed throughout all parts of the world, as current proverbs, and circulating poems, and all tongues commended his beautiful models and ornamented examples. The ingenious ones of the world in their verses and rhymes decorated the title pages of their volumes with his praises and commendations, and came with song, like nightingales into the garden of his presence. He took all ranks under his beneficent and kind favour, and by his blessed equity united all the

community under the shadow, veil, and canopy of his virtuous security, so that the world became peopled, and hearts wounded and diseased by sorrow, were healed by the medicine and plaister of his attention and knowledge. By his counsels he incited the Sultán to be firm in the principles of rectitude, and to seek the reward of the other world. Thus the state of the world and the empire became regulated and fixed, and all being settled upon the basis of knowledge and foresight, became firmer by lapse of time. May his (memorial) columns become higher as days advance, and may the building (of his fame) become stronger and firmer unto the fated end of time (Verse)

"Oh may the foundation of the good work thou hast constructed! may thy structure endure unto the judgment-day; may no enemy approach its boundary, even to attribute to it the name of injury."

Account of Shams-Al-Muali-Kabús-'bn-Washamgír and the remaining Portion of his Affairs, and of the Accession to the Throne of his Son, Falk-al-Muálí.

Shams-Al-Muálí, on account of his penetrating acuteness, and specially restless mind, when it was necessary to endure with patience, was harsh tempered and overbearing, and from his austere conduct and perpetually passing round the cup of his violence was never at peace with any one. If

mildness of disposition had been in him as weighty as a stone mountain, he would have summoned it from its summit, by his light sword as by lightning, and if any sedateness could have been ever attributed to him, through the slappings of the billows of his anger it had become a myth in the green sea, for the smallest offence he inflicted a harsh punishment. He had no compassion or fear of shedding blood, he punished and corrected only by the cutting sword and raised spear, and his prisons were but cavern sepulchres fitted to receive bodies (*catacombs*).

Hence the people were destroyed by him, so that hearts were broken by dread of him, and breasts shattered by hatred of him. For if by various means of execution and coercion for casual errors and accidental slips, one must die, or be distressed, what purity from all sin and corruption exists in prophets, so that spirits retained no strength, and souls were furious. And there was a worthy man, his Chamberlain, a man of gentle and guileless nature, known and remarked by all for a peaceful disposition, to whom the guardianship and controlling of the taxes of those places had been entrusted. Him they accused of rebellion, and the prince ordered him to be killed, and he, declaring his innocence sought succour in absconding and flying. He remained some time in his place of refuge, when his retreat was discovered,

and although he at the time then present showed his fidelity and stability during time past, he obtained no favour. His execution increased the disgust of the army, and all hearts resolved to draw off the bridle of obedience, and openly to embrace the word of rebellion and of freedom of their lives from the obnoxious moroseness of His Highness. And whilst this was going on, he went out from Juzján, and by reason of the aid of absence the fuel was renewed in the troops, and through the arrangement of the army and their malicious ill-will, he remained without intelligence of their movements until they seized upon his castle, and plundered his goods, arms, horses, &c. His nobles stood up to repel them, and protected him from the malice of their enmity. And when the design of these people failed in the object they had intended to attain, they went to Juzján, and took that city by force and perseverance into their possession. And they summoned the Amír Manuch-har from Tabaristán, and he, on account of his vexation and the ruin of this event to his father, and the deep treachery of those people, hastened on, in order to take the direction of this affair. But when he arrived at Juzján, he saw the army broken up into mutiny, and the affair out of his hands. The regiments of the army then sent a message to him, thus:—If you will agree with us with respect to the deposition and dismissal

of your father, we will bind up our loins with faithful zeal to serve you, and will be obedient, but if not, we will inaugurate some other man, or go to some other place. And the Amír Manuch-har saw no remedy but to obliterate all, and join them, for he thought that the curtain of respect was torn, that the fountain of strife and hatred might augment, and his old house fall from his hands. As to Sham-Al-Muálí, when he understood the coalition of their words in rebellion, and their agreement in all kinds of ill-will, he removed himself to Bastám with his light and heavy furniture, the royal seals, and the rest of his property, and awaited the end and boundary of the affair. And when the army received intelligence of this event, they compelled Manuch-har to attack him and remove him from that place, and by dint of necessity he went with them, and repelled wrong by wrong, and put fire upon fire. When, then, they came near Kabús he summoned his son, and Manuch-har coming to wait upon him, kissed the ground of respect, sate before him with the utmost submission, tears flowing from his eyes, and they began to enter into deep reflexions and complaints respecting recent events, and on both sides much passed between them on a son's duty to his father, and a hundred pledges were given that the former should protect the latter from their violence. And the Amír Manuch-har said to his father, if you will permit

me, I will risk my head in repulsing these forces' and freely yield up my life, and offer myself as the guardian of your existence, and sacrifice myself for your safety. Upon this Shams-Al-Muálí gave him the expression of his gladness of heart, and drawing him towards himself, kissed his face and said, I am now at the end of all my history, and the conclusion of my adventures, and you are the inheritor of my kingdom and my house. But this conduct of yours will merit distinction during my life and after my death. Upon this he consigned to him the seal of State, and delivered to him the keys of his treasures. And it was determined to place Shams-Al-Muálí in the castle of Khabashak, and make him engage himself in piety and devotion, and that he should resign royalty, and the right of binding and loosing to Manuch-har. They therefore removed Shams-Al-Muálí, to a dwelling within that fortress, with all his furniture, and servants, which they had preserved to him, and Manuch-har came to Juzján.

And Kabús occupied himself in taking possession of his property, and in conciliating the chiefs, and courting the commons. But notwithstanding all his attentions, and his earnest desire to be of service to all, both high and humble, time passed, and they found themselves not softened with regard to his errors, nor was their detestation of the past oppressions and horrible crimes of

Kabús diminished, and they examined every avenue of contrivance or treachery, in order to set their minds at rest concerning him. And as their wish was so it was fulfilled; for when all had arrived at peace and quietness, they perverted his secretary that in order to extinguish and end his life, (he should permit) that his bed makers should enter his sleeping chamber, and they drew sheet after sheet, (or cloak after cloak) so as to be closely glued upon him,* and thus saw him dead, (or drew cloak after cloak from the furniture of his bed-chamber (upon him) and thus beheld him dead).

Thus they obtained their wish, and became at ease from the dread of the thunderbolts of his sword and spear. They interred him in a domed sepulchre outside Juzján, on the road to Khurasán. His fate is intimated by the elegant poet (Verse)

"It was announced of thee that a fire was burning after thee,

"And the little dogs of society railed after thee;

"They published abroad and narrated the great affair.

"If thou hadst witnessed them therein they would not have mentioned it" (*i. e.*, they would not have been living to do so).

* Abulpharagius, in his "History of Dynasties," seems to imply that Kabus was assássinated, by stripping him of his cloaks or blankets, and so leaving him to perish (from exposure, it is to be presumed, to cold). But it would appear more probable that he was suffocated. Notwithstanding the very ingenious conjectural emendations of M. Kasimirski, which the translator thankfully adopts, he has not been able entirely to satisfy himself, with regard to this sentence.

And the Amír Manuch-har completed three days upon the seat of mourning, and after three days took his seat upon the throne, and being inaugurated by the army forgot Kabús. "There is no converse between Hajún and Safá" (*mountains of Mecca*). "There is no night gossip at Mecca." And a diploma arrived from the Chancery of the Khaliph Al-Kádir-Billáh to the Amír Manuch-har, containing condolence and sympathy, conferring upon him the surname of Falk-Almuálí, and wishing him Heaven's grace and happy guidance. And he was also protected by the mountain of the Sultán's friendship and requested the support of being admitted one of the peers and followers of the Empire. Thus the fracture of his father's circumstances became filled up by the weight of the interweaving friendship and pity of the Sultán, and by putting on the cloak of his aid and (seeking) utility under his dread shadow. And he sent several distinguished men of the Court to his presence, and he offered to the Sultán liberal presents, precious gems, and no scanty valuables, and assured him of his sincere wish and pure intention as respected his allegiance to His Majesty. The Sultán looked upon these gifts with an eye of favour, and returned a corresponding reply to his desire and petition, and marked the weights and measures of his regard with the standard of his good-will. And he gave a royal letter, ordaining

that in the Amír's country, the public prayers and the coins should be edged with the embroidery of his august surname. And he sent his signet-bearer Abú-Muhammad upon that journey to him, with a proper robe and perfect caresses. And the Amír Manuch-har, received this order with the ear of assent and obedience, and carried it out to the utmost, so that in the pulpits of the kingdoms of Juzján, and Tabaristán, and Koms and Dárughán, the insignia of the Sultán's style were displayed. Also, he was bound to pay five thousand dínars by way of tribute, which he sent every year to the treasury, and when the Sultán marched forth to fight for religion, he requested an army from him, and he sent to battle from the choice and flower of the men of Dilem, forces, who in ascending were like clubs (*or maces*), and in descending like a torrent, all fully equipped and provided with necessaries to the satisfaction of the exalted temperament, and he established confidence and faithfulness in supplying his necessities and furthering his measures. And when the atoms of his happy disposition towards His Majesty arrived at (coalescing) unity, and the sincerity of his allegiance was confirmed, and the clearness of friendship emerged from the dusky ashes of suspicion, he sent to His Majesty Abú-Said-Sawál, a chief of Juzján, an eminent man, skilled in genealogy and etiquette, to propose that the bonds of friendship should be

strengthened by the ropes of alliance. And he demanded the honour of a marriage with one of the noble ones of His Majesty's chamber. This Envoy with his usual modest virtues and innate laudable gravity, proceeded to this business, and succeeded so well in advancing his desire and prospering his wishes that the Sultán gave a loose rein to the promotion of his request, and the success of his hopes, so that the claims of Falk-Almúálí became attached to consent. And when this great man returned to the Amír's Court, and represented the favours and honours which he had received, he mentioned the ready inclination of the Sultán to reply to his plea, and satisfy his request. Upon this, Falk-Al-Muálí sent him again to the Court, and joined with him the Kadi of Juzján, a senator of learning, a corner stone of theology, and a pillar of experience, that by his perfect forethought and skill he might bring the union in prospect to the bond of marriage and girdling together. These two accordingly went to the Court, and offered their respects and requested that the marriage might be finally concluded. Then the Sultán bound the Satans of wickedness by the Divine Law's decrees, and gave to Falk-Al-Muálí a precious one, who was a corner of his heart, and the Venus in the heaven of his kingdom; a gem, fit only to be attached to the pinnacle of the hat of the sky, and

a pearl of pearls only fit for the rolling heavens, and a bridal bed of queens, worthy only of the chamber of princes. At these nuptials such gifts, presents, gratifications and jewels were diffused and distributed that they would fill the record of time, and form a decorated border for the roll of all the acts of generosity. Ambassadors were sent to inform him of the accomplishment of his wishes, and Falk-Al-Muálí sent a dowry of such an amount, that the renown of his magnanimity and generosity spread throughout the world, and none of the lords and princes remained without his share of noble gratifications and keepsakes. The Sultán reciprocated his homage by various noble acts, and fulfilled all that might respond to the expression of his allegiance, and was due to the claims of kindred. And he managed the principal chiefs and eminent men of his Court with precious honours and valuable robes, so that he became the model of Kings, and example of Sultáns in the world, and by his alliance with the pearl-producing shell of royalty and illustrious jacinth of sovereignty, his wealth advanced until it exceeded all that in any age had been stored up by the confluence of all the pens of book-keepers, or of those wise in understanding accounts. And as the moon's disk becomes illuminated by the sun opposite to it, and the womb of the gem-bearing shell is moistened by the gift

of the sea, so the treasury of Falk-Al-Muálí became as full of riches, as the Ocean repository of brilliant pearls, or as a mine of jewels.

And when, by the support of that alliance, and by reason of that affinity, the affairs of the Amír were placed upon a firm basis, he began to arrange the affairs of his army, and to take vengeance upon the parties who had been concerned in the blood of Shams-Al-Muálí, and by various methods of guile and kinds of pretexts, he made a breach between those parties and their allies, and killed them all. But the son of Kharkash, who had been the source of the dissensions, fled from among them, and became a wanderer in the world, distressed and cast away, and no trace of him remained. And in all the odiousness of that sin, and the accusation of that wickedness, Abúl Kasim was implicated, who was Commander of the army, and in the highest position of the kingdom. He remained wavering between hope and fear, looking for grief and tormenting anxiety. And Falk-Al-Muálí tore out his eyes, and (then) adopted the expedient of procrastination and delay, and deceived by feigned indifference and neglect, in order thus by stimulating his eagerness and longing for safety to draw him into the catching-trap, so that in the meeting of questioners (examiners) his tales were stopped, and the way of escape closed. However, the time of every affair is foreseen, and its issue defined, and

its end known to the Disposer, and He in guiding affairs, can hasten or retard in a manner that is not imagined. Abúl Kasim fled through a stratagem from prison, and wandered in various regions, until he came to Nisápúr to the Sultán's Court, and sought an asylum in his protection, thinking that he should thereby obtain safety from the consequences of his serious deeds of shame and odious actions, on account of the intimate alliance and connection that existed, as well as by the expanded discrimination, and the unity of counsel that was established between their Highnesses. He however knew not, that people slay those who slay, and that retribution like the bent bowstring, circles round the evil doer, and although the time be slow, finds a place to hit him on at last; and although the time was postponed, he at length fell into the trap of sorrow and the snare of misery. Doubtless the picture of his vile deeds was made known to the Sultán, for he commanded that he should be bound and delivered up to Falk-Al-Muálí, and Ibn-Rúmí hath composed these two verses of pure counsel and elegant admonition (Verse)

"Good is worked for him who fulfils it: if thou doest good it will make thee happy;

"And evil is done for him who perpetrates it: if thou doest evil it will ruin thee."

ACCOUNT OF DÁRÁ, SON OF SHAMS-AL-MUÁLI-KÁBÚS.

After Dárá, from the party of Abu-Ali, had translated himself to that of Prince Núh, he became attached to his service and a candidate for his munificence; and when his father, Shams-Al-Muálí, came to the head of affairs he still remained in contented obedience to his father, observing and preserving before him the affection, intimacy, and union of a son with his parent, until the latter sent him to Tabaristán. Here he was settled for some time, retaining his allegiance, governing well, and able to answer those who disputed his father's authority, until he, on account of some suspicion that beset him, recalled and sent him to Astérábád. He obediently proceeded thither, and illuminated the royal diploma (and grant) of the country, so that his father accepted all his excuses and delighted to honour his advances. After some days he again summoned him, and Dárá became thoughtful. He took his seat to go to his father, but on the road he repented, and, seizing the reins, went into the depths of the forests of Tabaristán, towards Khurásán. They intimated this event to Shams-Al-Muálí, who dispatched cavalry after him. He proceeded the whole distance, and when he arrived on the frontiers of Khurásán, being safe from the vehement winds of the fury, and the blasts of the fiery rage of his father, he attached himself to the

Sultán, and found with him a settled home and sure abode, and was honoured with every attention.• But, through the giddiness of youth and want of gravity, he in the assemblies of the Sultán made light of Mahmúd's kindred and rank. He thus became obnoxious to the rancour of the Sultán, and had cause to be alarmed at his jealousy, and therefore escaped under the star of the border of night. The Sultán sent persons in quest of him, but they attained not the place of the setting orb, for he came to the land of Gharsh, to the Shár-king, who, influenced by the long friendship which had existed between them, gave him an asylum at his Court. The Sultán sent a royal letter, in which he demanded him, and reiterated promises and threats. The Shar, in alarm and terror at consequences, sent the Amir Dárá to the Sultán. He was for some time in prison, enduring the harshness of fortune. Upon one occasion, by some unknown means, he escaped, and if the destined duration of his sorrow had been accomplished he would have attained safety. However the rawness of his days of misery and the fated residue of the season of his calamity seized his collar, so that the spies of the Sultán laid hands on him and replaced him in a closer prison, with increased severity and hardship, until the force of the Sultán's severity diminished and he forgave him, and he revivified him with fresh existence and

new life, and issued an order to console and release him, and again conferred upon him his wonted benefits and favours, giving him the land of Tabaristán and Juzján. And he nominated Arslán Jazib to assist and aid him. And if the sagacity of Falk-Almuálí, in displaying allegiance and persisting in his contented good affection towards the Sultán had not put his affairs in a right train, his house and his kingdom would have fallen from his possession.* However, when that affair was arranged, the Sultán recalled Dárá, who then remained as one of the lords of the empire and associates of the Court. And, at all social meetings, hunting shows, private audiences, and every assembly whatever, he was never away from the Sultán's eyes, until the time when the Amír Abúl-Fawarás-'bn-Azduddoulah came from Karmán, on account of the dispute with his brother, before the Sultán's throne, in the hope of assistance against his brother's oppression. One night Dárá and this Amir met in the Sultán's presence, when some discussion arose respecting the dignity of their families, the precedency of their chieftains, and the depth of their genealogy, when Dárá spoke words which were inconsistent with the reserve due to his majesty and the wide

* *i. e.* By losing Tabaristán and Juzjan, which were included in the grant to Dara, Falk-Al-Muálí would have lost a considerable part of his kingdom.

reverence owing to royalty. And when the denial was given him he repeated the words in a more quarrelsome and insolent manner, and the matter came to such a point that the Sultán caused him to be removed from the company, and the next day imprisoned him in a certain fortress, confiscating all his property, real and moveable, until the Vizier interceded for him, when, in the month Muharram, in the year 400, his estates and lands were delivered to his agents, to be expended for his advantage.

Account of Majduddoulah-Abú-Tálib-'bn-Fakhr-Addoulah.

When Hisám-Addoulah-Tásh arrived at Juzján Fakhr-Addoulah wrote to him by the hand of a messenger, and, amongst the contents of that letter, expressed his gladness at the birth of Majduddoulah, discharging the duty of thanks to God for that gift. And these words were contained in this letter: "God hath graciously given me the bounty of a son; I have surnamed him Abú-Tálib, as his Mussulmán appellation, but I have named him Rustám, for he is of the sons of that stock and of that origin." And when Fakhr-Addoulah migrated to the other palace (died) the army inaugurated him into his father's lordship. And his mother, Mary (?) was a sister of Asphabad, a lady mainly confident in the greatness of her kindred

and in her august tribe. She began to employ towards the army of Dilem, in an authoritative and dictatorial manner, language of binding and loosing, commanding and prohibiting. For this cause bitterness arose between him and his mother, and she sent a person and transferred Badr-Hasanawyat to herself, and seized upon Rai and weakened the authority of her son's Nawwábs. For this cause much strife took place, and effusion of blood and tumults universally drew on, and the army of Dilem and people of Rai were hereby reduced to distress, and lost strength, and fresh commotions continually arose, and the bands of peace were cut, so that by the lights and revolutions of those confused calamities, whole battalions of the army were destroyed, and through this miserable state of things the hardship of all classes and the ruin of the subjects increased, the country approached desolation, and all men were scattered. And Majduddoulah became wearied with the burning of these times of tumult and with these flames of iniquity. He therefore retired from his office of Amír, and arose to avoid the perverseness of his mother, and conquered the passion of his inclination, so as to obey her, and thus delivered the people from that precipice of undoing, and occupied himself in reading books, and in the society of pen and ink. And his brother, Shams-Addoulah, possessed Hamadan and Karmistán, as far as the frontiers of Bagdád.

And, during their lives, Badr-'bn-Hasanawyat amassed great wealth, and property, and goods, and in various ways of good feeling and humanity, dictated by his warm and great intellect, expended it. And thus, in like manner, Ibn-Fulád, during the days of the family of Boyah, obtained great power, and so high did his authority arrive that the chiefs of Dilem and the principal persons amongst the Kurds, Arabs, and Persians joined his army. And he wrote a letter to Majduddoulah and to his mother, the manager of the kingdom, demanding an increased share of territory, that he might expend the revenues thereof upon the army, and appropriate it to the exigencies of the kingdom, in defending the frontiers of the empire in current necessities, and in repelling enemies. And they returned an answer, alluding to the diminution of the area of the kingdom, and to the decreased glory of the empire, and excused themselves. And he rebelled against them, and turned towards the frontiers of Rai, and plundered them, and seized the lands bordering upon his own region, and took possession of their revenues. Hereby the roads were closed, and the means of abundance and food intercepted. Majaddoulah and his mother therefore wrote to Asphabad, imploring assistance, and he came with a whole division of an army of cavalry, and he frequently gave battle to Ibn-Fulád (*i. e., the son of steel*) and many perished on both sides. And he wounded

Ibn Fulád, and he retreated, and went out towards Damghan Here he tarried some days, repairing his losses and to be healed of his wounds, and wrote to Falk-Almuálí for aid, requesting him to obtain possession of Rai for him, and surrendering to him the public prayer-distinction, the coinage, and the settled duties, by way of encouragement. And he sent to him two thousand chosen men, who deemed it a noble end to die gloriously, and regarded battle but as wine-drinking and sport. And, in order to gladden Ibn-Fulád and to seal the truth of his good inclination, he sent abundant wealth as a loan. He went then, with this army towards Rai, and began to rob and plunder. The army of Dilem, therefore, suffered great distress and frightful scarcity, so that Majuddoulah and the royal troops were compelled to come. And they conciliated him, and gave Isfahan to him, and he was then appeased, and restrained himself from injury and wrong; and he brought the army to the high road of restraint and the ways of rectitude, so that the pretext of oppression and desolation was cut off; and, in the year 407, he went to Isfahán, and there displayed the insignia of empire, as belonging to Majduddoulah. And Nasrat-Hasan-'bn-Fírúzán, for the reason stated above, proceeded towards Rai, and, from alarm at the ill-will of Kábús and at the complaints respecting his army, came by the way of the wilderness. And,

when he arrived at Rai, he passed the space of two years amidst the people of Rai and with the most perfect respect, referred to with confidence in matters of State, and regulating all before and all behind. Then, for some offence, they arrested him and sent him to the fortress of Istonawand. Here he was confined for some time, until they drew the pen of pardon over his offence and brought him to his promised seat in the midst of the kingdom (promised) in those days when he had committed wickedness towards Majdud-doulah. From his bad government rectitude was diminished, and the army of Dilem threw off the bridle of allegiance, and began to oppress and attack. And since they threw off the halter of obedience he could not restrain them, so that every one did as he liked, as to murder, rapine, and plunder, except those who were hindered by compassion and the fear of God, through piety and the dread of retribution. Nasr (Nasrat ?) indeed attempted to punish them, killing several and expelling some. At length all joined hands and made an assault upon Nasr, and took the surrounding (outer) defences of his palace ; and he, with a select force, repulsed them for awhile, but at length he was put to flight, and all his property and possessions passed to them ; and afterwards he remained in deep indignation at this calamity, and distressed until he was deposited in the grave.

Account of Biha-Addoulah-'bn-Azduddoulah and his concerns.

When the country of Sístán was surrendered to the Sultán, Bihá-Addoulah began to express some desire that he should be admitted to share in the Khutbah, since, on account of the proximity of the two countries, they had been connected in public writings and Khutbahs, and the Sultán, on account of his noble descent and peculiarly high birth, was inclined to an alliance of love and affection; also for the advantage of the kingdom. Noble words passed, and messengers came and went upon the subject. And they sent to Pars (Fars) the Kadi of Nisápúr, Abú (Abr?) Bastámí, a man celebrated throughout the whole world, for his virtues, eloquence, and gravity. And Biha-Addoulah behaved, in expediting that honourable design and favourable position, as became the glorious eminence of the Sultán. Subsequently to his arrival Biha-Addoulah inclined to a new arrangement, and the affair was delayed. And again, as Fakhraddoulah, uncle and heir of his father, governor of Dudman, and a great lord, was settled at Bagdád, the affair could not be conceived without his advice and permission. So he sent the Kadi to Bagdad, to bring this affair to his ears, and to obtain his pleasure upon this proposal. And when he returned from Bagdád Biha Addou-

lah had left this world empty and found extinction. And his son Abú Shajá was heir of his father, and there arrived a royal letter from the palace of the Khiláfat, to establish him in the dignity, and giving him the surname of Sultán Addoulah. And his feet were firm in his kingdom, and the army placed their head upon the line of obedience. And, with respect to the proposal of marriage which had been made in that mission to his father, he knew not how he ought to answer it. However he committed the duty of communicating and corresponding entirely to the Kádí, on account of his sincere and faithful affection to the Sultán, and his inclination towards the alliance, and his wish that he would imitate his father in his friendship. And he produced, accordingly, a satiety of sincere correspondence and many letters.

But Amír Abúl-Fawáris, his father's brother, was settled at Karmán. Between them the openings of hatred appeared, and increased so much that Sultán Addoulah sent an army to Karmán, to dispossess him. He earnestly devoted himself to repel it, and a severe engagement took place between them, in which Abúl-Fawáris was defeated, and went to Sistán, to seek an asylum with and to obtain aid from the Sultán. The latter sent to the Amír Nasr-'bn-Nasir-Addín a special message, enjoining that he should honour his arrival, and that he should consider it his

bounden duty to take pains in arranging his residence, and providing for his retinue. He was, moreover, to give the Amír two thousand dinárs, by way of an offering (of welcome) and send the Prince to him. And the Amír most fully carried out his wishes, so that all the world wondered, and confessed that at no time had any kings or Sultáns taken such pains concerning other kings and princes, or, by the rain and sea of remarkable gifts and generosity, had displayed such special thoughts and humanity; and the renown of this act and the echo of these benefits reached the extremities of the world. He went out to meet him, treated him with splendour and magnificence, and gave him gold, silver, horses, and other presents, such as the imagination could not embrace, and such as could not come into the human mind—(into the mind of any mortal) except the royal mind of the Sultán, before whose eyes wealth was like gnats, which are not weighed; or dust, which is not of any account. He remained six months at Court, more esteemed than the Sultán's sons and more honoured than his brothers. And after six months he felt inclined to return to his own country, and requested succour from the Sultán. The latter provided him with many troops, well equipped and armed, and dispatched, to attend upon him, Abú-Said-Táín, one of the most eminent learned writers of the Court, with an army

which had contracted an affection for war and contest, and become accustomed to a recurrence of victories and supremacy of strength, the very edge of rapine and plunder (Verse)

"Troops like these would carry off a mountain-fort, as if it were (only) of the length (size) of that which is fastened on the crupper."

With this army the Amír Abúl-Fawáris arrived at Karmán, and the army posted there, knowing that they had not strength to cope with them, retreated, and he was re-established in his kingdom, upon his promised throne. And Abú Saíd, having accomplished this affair, returned, accompanied by his army. Some time passed, during which he preserved the respect and due reverence to the Sultán, and nothing happened that might destroy the structure which he had founded, or render useless the seat which he had arranged for him. At length the Sultán determined to return to Ghazna, and his terrible standards were far distant, and the Amír Abúl-Fawáris remained without shield or protection. Hereupon Sultán Addoulah sent another army against him, which defeated him. He fled to Hamadán, to Shams-Addoulah; and he, on account of the claims of kindred, and with the idea of being keeper of his property, and of gain, displayed zeal for his advantage. But afterwards an imagination flew before

him, and he thought that the Amír Shams-Addoulah would display treachery to him, seize him, and send him to Sultán Addoulah. For this cause he went from Hamadán, to Bagdád. The rest of his adventures shall be given in their place, please God.

Account of Ilek-Khán and conclusion of his affairs.

Ilek Khán, after his defeat at Balkh, returned to his own land, sad from the anguish of that weakness, and the disturbance of that debility. He continually blamed his brother Togan-khan for his delay and slackness in succouring him, until through this affliction, he fell upon the bed of death, and marched from the world unto the home eternal. Thus the hunger of his covetousness was fattened by the dainties of dust, and his ambition which was on a level with the rolling vault and orb, was worsted by the hand of fate, and destiny's decree (Verse)

"The mill!* the streaming waters flow to it,

* *i. e.* Providence acts by means secret to us. The great fall, if they are destitute of Heaven's wings, which are sometimes vouchsafed to the humble. *Axis*, قُطب, seems here to be used for *the power which causes revolution or motion around an axis*. The poet implies that the power which causes water to turn a mill is like the Divine causation unknown to man.

"And there is no (moved) axis whereby they make it revolve.

"Truly the abundance of feathers enables the sparrow to rise in flight,

"And the featherless vultures fall."

His decease took place in the year 403. His brother obtained the principality of Máwarannahr, and adopted the course of peace and mutual regard towards the Sultán, and obtained protection from the effects of his brother's faults by his sincere attachment, and the influence of kindred.

And an army of a hundred thousand tents came from the frontiers of China to attack him, and the fairest of the lands of Islám, such a number that no trace of them had ever been seen during the existence of Islám, with a design to extinguish the light of Islám, and to raise the palace of idols, knowing not, that the stability of the Muhammadan opinions will not be subverted by the flags of any rebel, and that it will cast the head of the oppressor into the dust. Togan-khan summoned, from all kingdoms of Islám, troops to repulse them, and from those who would aid religion, and help Islám, collected 100,000 men. This terrible proclamation and agitating announcement caused great fear, and considerable stir and sympathy took place, so that in worshipping-houses and mosques, hands were raised in supplication, and they committed their anxieties (to

Heaven.) And Togan-khan marched to the sacred war against this people, placing his heart upon meeting fate, and fortifying his resolution to proceed towards the dignity of martyrdom, hoping in the promise of heaven respecting victory to religion, and the exaltation of the convicting word, as the standard of the glorious Korán alledges. "We have sent them to victory, they believe in the life of the (other) world." And for several days, during the struggle of that engagement, and the blessedness of that fight, and the fallings of that battle field, there dropped from the edge blows of those noble natures, and the sharp (swords) of those brave ones, and from the striking of the scimitars of those warriors upon the throats of those ass colts, from the compassion of those warrior swords in cutting up those vile people, and from the flashes of those lightning blades, from the seizings of those propitious thunderbolts, from the victory over these rebellious races, and from the blows of cutlasses upon their necks, (streams) like raining hail, or the moist honeycomb. But God took his sacred servants into the fort of security, and strengthened them with sure victory and power, and exalted his word relating to Islám's victory, and the stoning of devils, until one day, when the fire of war came from above, and Mars disclosed his girdle, and granted to the two parties a friendly circulation (*of the cups*) of swords and

spears. Then the troops intoxicated with the praises of God, with the sweet odour and fragrance of the breezes of Paradise, and with a passion to obtain an abode in the mansions of mercy, like wild colts, or the foaming sea, played (*the game of battle*) with their hot horses, from the first gleam of the sky until twilight fell, and with the assistance of the exalted Agent performed most mysterious (acts.) Doubtless opportune aid came from the Holy Majesty, and the breeze of victory blew from the merciful holder of the winds. They cast to the ground upon the battle field, nearly 100,000 dead bodies of infidels, heads bade farewell to bodies, and souls were divided from forms. The vulture swords inflicted full pain upon the livers of unbelievers, and the hyenas and lions were gladdened by gleaning from that plain. Nearly one thousand captives, their damsels and children fell into the hands of the people of Islám, equal in beauty to the Moon, and in brightness excelling the all-diffused rays, and incalculable wealth and plunder besides, the residue of the army gnawed destruction and took to flight. This important victory and great success was universally reported, calming hearts, soothing souls, and inducing tongues to praise heaven. After this victory his last hour arrived for Togan-khan, and his soul removed to the lodging of Paradise, to dwell amidst the martyr spirits. And the kingdom descended

to his brother, who in piety, fear of God, and zeal for the affairs of religion, was a like-minded and suitable successor to his throne. He like his predecessor was settled in allegiance, in acting liberally to the commonality, in smoothing the carpet of equity and comfort, and in avoiding pride and arrogance. On account of the association that existed between his brother and the Sultán, he went and built up former hospitable relations by means of adhering brotherhood and friendship. And in the time of Ilek-Khán, the Sultán had betrothed one of the casketed gems of Ilek-Khán's children for Amír Khalil-Abú-Masúd, and at the present time he resolved to complete this match of alliance and bond of marriage. And several of the confidential counsellors of the Sultán departed to convey this precious pearl in order that they might securely deposit this keepsake. Several of the eminent nobles of the kingdom and eloquent Imams came, having arranged this, to Balkh, and deposited this trust, and discharged all that they conveyed both in words and wealth. The nuptial evening was extremely grand, and the Sultán ordained that they should, before their meeting arrange ceremonies at Balkh, and decorate the city, and nothing was left wanting in various kinds of glory. And in order to raise the position of his son, and to exalt his rank, the Sultán gave him Herát, with great riches, abundant property, and royal orna-

ments and furniture. He departed in the year 408, and came to Balkh. He held the mirror of equity before his face, and by upright conduct, and just guidance of the path of the people, kept that land in the gardens of safety, and the Paradise of peace.

Account of the Amír Abú-Ahmad-'bn-Yamín-Addoulah.

The cream of our descriptions and the flower of our words, in pourtraying the qualities and displaying the brilliancy of this Prince, reminds us of the poet's words (Verse)

"The generosity of that Prince is as the blessings given by the dawn;"

"The generosity of this Prince is as the blessings given by the midday."

Heaven had adorned him with specially good morals and with inclinations to high dignities. Of this the virtues of his disposition, his pure and gloriously conspicuous nature, were a cutting evidence and clear proof. His mind, in nobleness, was parallel to the sign Pisces and on a level with the sky, and from the chamber of education, the canopy of care, and the guardianship of the Sultán's training, he came forth pure as gold tried by the touchstone of fire, and walked proud as the moon on her throne of increasing light, and arrived at the door of exaltation through the influx of

merits. He profited much in the exercises of swords and spears, and was gemmed with generous morals, when he emerged from the shaping of childhood to the age of youth, and an hero's strength was founded in him. The Sultán, as the consummation of his rearing and training, by the full effect of manhood and the duties of paternity, demanded for him, from amongst the princely children of Abú-Nasr-Feriguni, a noble lady, adorned with brilliant qualities and accomplishments, and appointed him Receiver-Governor of Juzján, a seat of the family of Ferigúní, who in greatness resembled the Creator, in graciousness Heaven, and in bounty the Jihún. He distinguished then his son, with the viceroyalty hereof, who proceeded thereunto, and, with his showers of liberality and comprehensive justice, revivified the subjects of those regions, so that hearts became strong by his virtues, and all with pure affection and sincere friendship, presented the service of allegiance. And the Sultán, when he saw the indications of his bent, and the lights of his glory increasing day by day, augmented his proofs of favour, his kind preference, and his eagerness to raise the degrees of his position, and the steps of his rank, and increased his kindness and benevolence, with special regard and peculiar benevolence. The remaining adventures of the two brothers

shall be mentioned in their own place, please Heaven!

Account of the Táhirite Envoy.

The Sultán, on account of his genius and capacity, his upright conversation, and his zeal in subduing the towns of infidels, became a followed guide in expounding the law and in defining works of merit, and a great investigator and explicator of questions stirred up respecting settling views and assiduous disputes, and upon the knots of divines, and the sects of the followers of novelties. He was gloriously perspicacious in grounding religion and in goading heretics; he was solidly confident in interpretation and hermeneutics, and the due measurement of doctrines, and the proofs of repealing and repeated (verses)* and in verifying

* The Korán of Muhammad does not consist of regular historical narratives or of a code of precepts arranged in any order. But it is made up of a number of unconnected portions or chapters, of various lengths, consisting of precepts or prohibitions, wildly and obscurely blended with historical, or rather, legendary allusions. The dates of the appearance of these portions are not known, so that they cannot be classed in order of time. And as some of the signs or verses of these portions are repugnant to or supersede others, it cannot be known which is the earliest and repeated verse, and which the latest and the finally enacting one, which appertains to the nascent and which to the developed religion. Innumerable differences have arisen, in consequence, and it has been a main object of Muhammadan doctors and interpreters to settle these contro-

or reprehending traditions and hints, and, by reason of his clear-sightedness, a perfect refuter of all kind of false allegations and heretical sectaries, for he watched that the ordained statutes should be pure from the dust of innovation. It came to his ears that a sect had recently appeared amongst his people, who professed to adhere to the Lord of Egypt, and, although their outward profession was but heresy, their words within were pure infidelity, and they interpreted the standard of the revealed book according to their own heart, which was the cause of the destruction of the foundations of religion, and a removal of the bulwarks of proof. They, moreover, were zealously engaged in making void the science of the law and the rules of the faith, and showed the way of going aside from the determination of the Divine statutes and decrees. The Sultán commissioned spies, to investigate and spy out their places of meeting; and they brought to his hand a man who commanded amongst them, and who knew all their names and appellations. He, by dint of punishment and torture, surrendered them all to his power. They brought them all from different places and from successive cities, to the Court.

versies. Máhmúd of Ghazni is said, by Utbi, to have displayed skill and ingenuity in these matters. Even the prohibition of wine is not quite free from uncertainty, and one sect at least has disregarded it.

They were impaled on the tree or stoned. He followed after the whole company, until he had seized them all and annihilated them, and thus obtained the mastery. And Abú-Bakr-Mamshád, a venerable divine, a virtuous and religious nobleman, in this matter coincided in opinion with the Sultán. And as to every one who was connected with this assuming body or people of sinful novelty, and who had turned aside from the highway of the established religion and settled strait path, he made them all an example. By reason of this his reckoning (with these heretics) and his zeal herein his reputation increased, and he became the object of men's eager wishes, and that which their hopes craved, and all his decisions upon religious points, from his piety, knowledge, and safe acuteness, arrived at the highest estimation, and were placed at the summit of Arcturus and on the pinnacle of Heaven's vault, as is noted and commemorated in the announcement of God to the world: "He who serves me I will serve him, and he who serves thee I will follow him and make him serve" (Kúrán). And, during these events, there rose up a man, in the province of Irák, who professed to be derived from the tree (family) of Alí, who showed as if he were proceeding from the Lord of Egypt unto the Súltán, and were about to present unto him a written letter and well-filled packages. He went as far as to

Nisapúr, and made great vauntings, on account of his family and of his proud nobility, and exhibited boastings and pretensions. But at Nisápúr they made him stop, and intimated the matter to the Sultán. But he, in his falsehood and self-sufficiency, moved on, and came to Herát, with the intention of going to Ghazna. The Sultán, however, sent a royal order to convey him to Nishapúr, whilst his letter could be decided upon by the chief examiners, so that all might be cleared and evident to the Sultan's privy council, as to receiving his embassy, and that the dust of suspicion should not be placed on the edge of the purity of his introduction. And, when they brought him to Nishápúr, and began to unfold his words and acts, they found on him some writing, taken from the volumes of the people of the interior, full of deceit and errors, such that the words of the licentious and the diabolical suggestions (*of fire-worshippers, followers of Manis?*) were better founded than they, which proceeded not from any intellectual perception, or from the information or deductions of intellect, and which were not referable to proof. The Master, Abú-Bakr, investigated his iniquity, and found that his weights were unable to bear the standard of examination, and that his words did not tally with fact and truth. At the beginning of this altercation he himself comprehended his own position, and knew that in this journey he

had cast himself into the noose of destruction, and had aimed at himself the arrow of ruin. They sent him to the Sultán, and made him appear before the select assembly of chief Imáms and Kadhis, eminent divines and faith-champions. And Hasan-'bn-Tahir-'bn-Musallim-Alawwi (one of the family of Alí) was a witness of that trial and present at that Court. He says: "The story of that *dignified Sayyid** was this, that amongst the lordly race of Tálib and the sons of Husain the younger, no one was more noble and eminent than his grandfather, who surpassed all in rank and wealth; that Muiz (Addín) Khálif of Egypt, sent one to him to demand his daughter for his son Aziz, in marriage. That the cause which induced him to seek this alliance was as follows: he had found in his palace a piece of paper, on which was written the following quatrain (Verse)

"If thou be of the family of Abú-Tálib seek in marriage one of the children of Tahir,

"Even if people look at thee with aversion to them

"At the beginning of the matter or at the end.

"Truly his mother is one who is railed at as a native of Susa, a woman from whom, in fine, they bite carbuncles."†

(For this poet had called his mother a native of

* *Dignified Sayyid*, ironical.

† Carbuncles or warts, &c., excrescences proceeding from scrofula or leprosy, which diseases are thus intimated to be common at Susa.

Susa, because the mother of his grandfather Muhammad-'bn-Abdullah-'bn-Maimún was of that place.) "That he had declined this alliance and affinity with Muiz on account of scorbutic (maladies) and that he considered him not equal to himself, and gave answer, 'Both my daughters are engaged in the marriage knot.' Nuriz on this account imprisoned him, and seized whatever of his worldly goods he could discover, and at length he suffered death under his hand. But the exact nature of that which happened to him was not known to any one; some said that they killed him and buried him secretly, several said that he fled from prison, and was cut off from the regions of the Hijáz. And Táhir the father of Hasan went to Medina, and became lord of that city. And Táhir his uncle's son, and (his) son-in-law, was in great intimacy with him, and upon the demise of Táhir, Abú Ali was heir presumptive to the lordship, and after his decease, Hani and Muhanni his sons obtained the lordship. But Hasan on account of his decayed circumstances as regards wealth and dignity, became of no account, therefore he came to Khurasán, and sought an asylum at the Sultan's Court." And when Tahirti in this explanation began to mention his mission, Sharif Hasan drew out the tongue of opposition, and denied that he had any connexion with the matter as Envoy, or with the genealogy of the prophet, and gave sentence, authorizing the

shedding of his blood. And the Sultán cast the judgment against Tahirti upon the responsibility of Hasan, and Hasan killed him. And the Commander of Believers Al-Kadir-Billah sent a Royal letter upon the subject of Tahirti, and signified his pleasure that he should be seized as a troubler of the devotion, and he made an example of, and punished. And when the news of his execution reached Bagdád, and the firmness of the Sultán's religion became known, and the tongues of objectors and reprovers were tied, the Commander of the faithful regarded him as singularly paired with him, *i. e.* in religious authority, and he stood in a position of acceptance. And the punishment of Tahirti accords with the saying (Verse)

"He who gives to drink a poison that kills *suddenly* it is just that he suffer a death that *streams with blood*" (*i. e.*, a violent death, but of a kind different from that by poison).

Account of the Amír Abúl-Abbás-Mámún-Khwarism-Sháh and the Conclusion of his History, and how his Kingdom devolved upon his Son.

When the kingdom of Khwarism came from Mamún to his son Abú-Alí, and the country of Khwarism and Jurján was ceded to him, he took the Sultán's sister in marriage, and by that affinity became powerful, and the families became one, and this stability was smoothly settled until the

end of his life. And when the period of his life was cut short, his brother, Mámún-'bn-Mámún, sat in his room, who sent to the Sultán, and demanded his brother's wife in marriage, and offered evidences of greater purity and sincerity of obedience. The Sultán returned a favourable reply to his request, so that the affairs of those two kingdoms became duly regulated by an interwoven and associated unity, until the Sultán demanded that, throughout his kingdom, the public-prayer acknowledgment should be made and the coinage struck in his name, and sent an ambassador to stir in that matter. He called his chiefs, followers, and principal courtiers, to consult on this affair, who all twisted out their necks from this command, and exhibited averseness, dislike, and disdain thereat, and said, "Whilst your kingdom has endured as it was delivered to you, that is elevated and autocratical, and whilst it remains preserved and indivisible, we gird up the loins of service; but if you choose to become the subject of another's will, we will draw our swords to resist, and, depriving you, will propose the sovereignty to another." The messenger returned, and reported directly to the Sultán the words which he had himself heard. But the people of Khwárism afterwards began to think of the consequences of their words and of the wrong which they had done to their Supreme Sovereign, and began to be ter-

ribly alarmed at the issue thereof. And the foremost of all was Inaltagin, Commander of the Forces of Mámún. They were engaged in arranging that affair, and, by craft and treachery, they arrived at this conclusion, that one day, unexpectedly, when they went to offer the usual salutations at Court, intelligence of the king's demise was brought out from within, although they know not how it had occurred, and all the people assembled to inaugurate his son. And they put him in his father's place; and they knew that the Sultán would enquire into this event, and take vengeance for this offence. They therefore entered into an oath with one another, to oppose the Sultán, and entered upon a covenant of mutual fidelity and support, that if, on the Sultán's part, there should be any proceedings against them, they would be all one hand in hand, and resolutely answer him. This resolution affected the fortune and the empire of the Sultán, and such a determination nearly concerned the happiness of his life, since, by reason of the opposition of that kingdom, opposition would increase in his own, and other lands be drawn in thereby. The Sultán, therefore, with a perfect army, marched to Khwarism; and Inaltagin made an attack, by night, upon his advanced guard, and Abú-Abdallah-Tái, who was with the advanced guard, stood up to fight with them. Intelligence of this engagement reached

the Sultán, who turned towards them with his forces, and from the time of the unfurling the flag of morning until the equalization of the sun (noon) the battle endured. And the Khwárismians firmly kept their footing, in the hope of victory and conquest, not considering that treachery is a collar, on one side of which is transitory shame and on the other eternal fire, and that ingratitude to benefactors is the cause of ruin and punishment, and invokes destruction and misfortune. And when the day began to decline, through the blows of horses and the wounds of elephants an innumerable multitude of the army lay lifeless upon the plain of that battle-field; the rest took to flight and became dispersed in the midst of the forests, on the shore of the Jihún. Nearly five thousand men were made prisoners. And Inaltagin (*or Nibaltagin*) made an effort, if perchance he might pass over the Jihún and save his life, but knew not that to the deceitful the dark path of the narrow valley of treachery blocks up the road of safety, and stops up the means of preservation and the egress of salvation, and that the retribution of evil designers inevitably arrives. For, when he was seated in the boat, a dispute arose with another man for some cause, and he joined in the altercation between them, upon which he seized Inaltágín, and gave him to a sailor, at the prow of the boat, to deliver him up to the army of the

Sultán. The Sultán ordered that he and the other prisoners should be presented before him, when he questioned them upon the cause of their heat against their benefactor. And when Inaltagin saw that he could not escape he gave an insolent reply, and the rest of the prisoners threw their heads before him (*were reckless and defied him*) and returned blush-causing and shameless replies, so that they carried trees opposite the monument of Mámún, and drew (impaled) them all upon trees, and wrote this inscription upon the columns (or cloister) of the monument: "This is the grave of such a one, son of such a one, one of his dependants who rebelled against him, and one of his servants who made his blood flow; but God took by the hand Yamin-Addoulah-wa-Amin-Al Millat, until he obtained vengeance upon them and miserably punished them, an example to all who behold and a sign to all who understand" As to the other prisoners he tied halters round their necks, and sent them to Ghazna, and retained them in dungeons. After some time he released them all, and sent them, with the other troops in his service, to the regions of Hind. He committed Khwarism to the great Chamberlain Altontásh, that he might follow after the rest of those wicked people, and dig them all up by the root. Thus the land of Khwarism was tranquillized and civilized. Such was the decree of mighty Wisdom.

ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST OF MAHRAH AND KANÚJ.

The Sultán, having concluded this transaction respecting Khwarism, and having annexed that land to his other kingdoms, desired to give the rest of the year to repose, and thought that he would undertake a third (sacred) conquest, when the face of the spring was smiling. This thought he perfected, and commanded a movement towards Bost, until the time when the sun should direct his course towards the quarter of the North and arrive at the equinox, when the world would be decorated and adorned, and when he should find the tracts of the earth in full splendour. And, arriving at Bost, he employed himself in examining the accounts of the collectors, and in renewing the duties and affairs of the subjects, until Heaven granted him a union between stability and glory, and prospered his power over the kingdom. Then he betook himself to conquest from that place with good mind and regulated thought, and Heaven, according to the accustomed decree commanded respecting confirmation of the Muhammadan religion and aid to its law, fulfilled in his behalf the promise, and joined to verification the wonder of that glorious word which is quoted on this subject, although the distance was extended and the way long. For the conquests of the Hindú territory, so as to become the territory of Islám, were over-

flowing. All had been adorned with the insignia of that profession, and the veil of infidelity remained nowhere except in the interior of Kashmir. And whereas in those regions there was a long desert, in the atmosphere of which a bird could not fly, and in whose expanse the falcon would be lost; yet, in those days, nearly twenty thousand men had come from the plains of Mawarannahr, through zeal for Islám, and they sat down waiting the time for the Sultán's movements, striking their numerous swords, and uttering the shout of the holy war, "God is great!" They deliberately placed their lives in the palm of their hands, and as to their bodies they held them by his enhancing bounty, in the market of the verse, "God hath bought from the believers their lives and their property"—(Kúrán). Their craving zeal and stirring ideas inflamed and excited the purpose of the Sultán, and he desired to proceed with those troops to Kanúj. This was a country quite unknown to any foreign kingdom, except to Kashásab, who was Chief of the Kings and Head of Emperors. From Ghazna hereunto was six months' journey, but the Sultán, on account of the excellence of his design, determined upon the measure, and severed himself far from delicious sleep and security, that with this numerous army, who, full of a passion for happiness and a craving for martyrdom, would put fear into their cheeks and

pluck out the hair of their mouths (beards) he went down. And, from the rivers Jihún, and Jilam, and Chaud (Chenáb ?) he went the straight way to Tibet, and passed Iskandar, walled around by the protection of God, who watched over him in the deepest of obnoxious (perils). And, wherever he came envoys came to meet him, girding up the loins of obedience, offering the belt of submission and allegiance. And, when they arrived near Kashmir, Habalí-'bn-Shásní, General of the Army and Lord of Kashmir, joined his service. But he was given to understand that there was no remedy for the effects of the Sultán's superabounding power and awful sword except Islám and its profession. He therefore bound up the waist of service, and took up his position with the robbers (or advanced skirmishers (?) Kúlawazí) of the army, and went before the troops. It passed valley after valley, and every night before the crowing of the cock the sound of fife and drum arose. The earth trembled from the motion of the Sepoys, until they passed the last day of halting on the march; for, on the 20th of Rajib, in the year 409, they left (——?) behind, and took possession at their will of the fortresses of refuge and the munitions of that land, until they arrived at the castle of Barma, in the country of Harún. The King of this place (Harún ?) was the greatest of all the sovereigns of India. But when he became

aware of the multitude of the champions of Islám, and saw the army-sea which was striking out its billows, he came down with nearly ten thousand men, and represented his willingness to display the insignia of the symbol of the profession of Islám. He became blessed with the happiness of true guidance. From hence they went to the fortress of Kaljand, the chieftain of which was of the number of those Pharaoh devils and accursed princes. He passed his life in infidelity, and, on account of the fear of his kingdom and of the extent of his authority, lived in safety from the attacks of heroes and the conflict of trenchant swords. No one had an opportunity of obtaining the mastery over him, and the chief lords and eminent men of kingdoms turned the face of weakness away from him and from his powerful state, his immense riches, his strength in cavalry, his grand armies, from the inaccessibility of his dwellings, and from those commanding munitions which for long records of days and events of time had been guarded and preserved. And when he saw that the Sultán would direct against him the cry of the holy war, he arrayed his warlike preparations, his army, his horses, and his elephants, and awaited his approach in a wood, into whose intricacies a ray of the sun could not penetrate, and from whose leaves and branches a needle would not reach the ground. The Sultán then com-

manded his advanced guard to force themselves into the midst of the forest. They found a road (which led) from the upper castle, and when the green sea struck out, "Allah Akhar," they stood against the head of the Kafirs, and twisted them round their scimitars, and cast the troops upon the ground. They stood firm for a time, and made charges from their own position, when the rain of swords reached them, and the heavenly decree preserved the people of Islám from the edge of their scimitars and the point of their spears (Verse)

"The swords of Hind were blunted by their strokes,
"And when they cut our necklaces saved our lives."

At length it became known that all events are in the grasp of destiny, and that the well-formed scimitar, although its force may be extreme and its edge sharp, is but a subject of the command and vassal of the decree of fate, if it penetrate to the Muslim's blood; and herein destiny exhibited its usual blessedness, but if it had been weak it would have been the cause of some wonder-working providence, and for the display of some miracle. These despicable ones were astonished; and, when they saw the indications of the power of these champions of religion, and were witnesses of their arms and appurtenances, they said one to another, "This body of

men is not of the race of mankind or of the human family! Our swords which in breaking could pass through a rock, and make a mere tale of brilliant lightning, are cut off from cutting them, and glance away from their shoulders." Perhaps these wretches had placed themselves in the straight road to destruction, and recognized not the truth that such (fatuity) is the sign of rebels and deniers, and the marked path of their wickedness and undutifulness. They threw themselves then simultaneously into the river, in order that the abundant waters and powerful current might be the means of their preservation and safety; and they knew not that, although water is the germ of life and the principle of vivification, Heaven's decree can render it the cause of destruction and ruin. This, however, the warrior comrades and eminent army of guides (to truth) made them know, by cutting off the fountain of infidelity and intercepting the rivulet of idolatry, so that some came to the sword and some were drowned in the water. Five thousand perished and went to hell, and Kaljam drew his dagger, killed his wife, and then, ripping himself up, became a partner of his forces on their road to hell. Of their wealth 185 head of elephants, with other kinds of profit and plunder, came to the Sultán.

In that place, in the city, there was a place of worship of the Indian people; and when he came

to that place he saw a city, of wonderful fabric and conception, so that one might say, this is a building of Paradise, but its accidents or qualities could only come by the aid of the infernals, and an intelligent man would hardly receive favourably the account of it. They had brought immense stones, and had laid a level foundation upon high stairs (or steps). Around it and at its sides they had placed one thousand castles, built of stone, which they had made idol temples, and had (cemented) fastened them well. And in the midst of the city they had built a temple higher than all, to delineate the beauty and decoration of which the pens of all writers and the pencils of all painters would be powerless, and would not be able to attain to the power of fixing their minds upon it and considering it. In the memoir which the Sultán wrote of this journey he thus declares, that if any one should undertake to build a fabric like that he would expend thereon one hundred thousand packets of a thousand dinárs, and would not complete it in two hundred years, with the assistance of the most ingenious masters (architects). And amongst the mass of idols there were five idols made of pure gold, of the height of five cubits in the air; and of this collection of idols there were (specially) two, on one of which a jacinth was arranged, such a one that if the Sultán had seen it exposed in the Bázár, he would have considered as underpriced at fifty

thousand dinárs, and would have bought it with great eagerness. And upon the other idol there was a sapphire (hyacinth) of one solid piece, of azure water, of the value of four hundredweights of fine *miskals* (*five weights of a dram and a-half*) each, and from the two feet of an idol they obtained the weight of 400,400 miskals of gold. And the idols of silver were a hundred times more, so that it occupied those who estimated their standard weight a long time in weighing them. They devastated (all that city) and passed therefrom towards Kanúj, and the Sultán took an augury thereon from the Korán, and left behind much of his army, in order that, perchance, Haipal (or Jaipal) Rájah of Hind, when he saw the small number of his chieftains, might return, and consider it disgraceful to pall in resolution, before first engaging in battle or conflict, for he was the chief of the princes of India, and all submitted their necks in obedience to him (*bowed their heads*) and acknowledged his high rank, and great power and dignity. And, throughout all the extent of this expedition, at whatever region he arrived and whatever fortress the Sultán saw, he took possession of it, and devastated it, plundering and taking captives. Thus, on the eighth of Shaabán, they arrived at Kanúj, where a mountain rose before them, and the army passed the Ganges. This water possesses glory and great dignity with the

chiefs of India. They know it to be a spring of the springs of eternity, and when they wash their dead they purify them in this water, and are persuaded that it is the means of clearing all their accounts, and of cleansing from all sins and evil inclinations. And from far distant roads Brahmins come, and wash in this water, thinking it a cause of salvation and of obtaining a higher heavenly rank. The Sultán then opposed the fortresses of Kanúj; and he beheld seven castles, placed upon the margin of the water of the Ganges. Nearly ten thousand temples were built in these forts, and these dotard and lying idolaters declared that the date of the commencement of those fabrics was two or three hundred thousand years, and from this confident belief derived pride and pretension. Their trust in them was continually recurring, under all circumstances, for they were desirous to deposit money therein, and in time of need made processions around them, humbly imploring aid. The greater number of the people had deserted their homes, from terror at the Sultán, but some remained. The Sultán in one day took all those fortresses and plundered them, and thence turned to the fortress of Manaj, called the *Brahmins' Castle.* The people of this fortress stood up to resist him, but when they knew what is the power of confidence and the strength of salvation from non-existence, they cast

themselves down from the summit of the castle, and some of them struck themselves with darts and the edge of swords, and sent their impure souls to the mansion of destruction. From hence the Sultán came to the fortress of Aster, held by Jandbál the Violent, one of the most furious of the Indians, confiding in the extent of his territory and his numerous army. The Rajah of Kanúj was annoyed by him, and several times marched towards his province, but returned without being able to effect anything. This castle was situated in the midst of forests, upon an eminence, and deep moats were drawn around it. And when Jandbál saw the wounding blows of the Sultán's legions and the strokes of his riders, and was aware that Fate was reaching out her claws to seize him by the neck, and that the angel of death was sharpening his teeth to flay him, he broke up the earth of his castle and took to flight. The stars of religion, the stoners of devils, and the champions of the Sultán went after them, killing and plundering, so that Jandbál and his comrades were deceived, for the Sultán's men made them know their awful power and dreadful might. And when they witnessed the serried ranks of his warriors and the fury of his men, they knew how long an interval there is between the heat of play and the ardour of the brave, and became aware that their business was to engage with those who were

determined to shed blood, not with the play of cotton-threshing tables. And the Sultán, having reached Jandbál, and surrounded him, directed his course towards Chandrarajah, who was owner of a very strong fortress, and who said (Verse)

"I snort my long nose and display my marshy plains, and am a foe to any other claimant."

He had never owned submission or allowed superiority as to any one, and knew nothing but boasting and pride. Between him and Jandbál balls of contention had passed, and great wars had occurred, in which many had perished on both sides, but by their distresses (they were compelled to arrange) so that the spirting of blood and the defence thereof came to a compromise and to peace. And Jaibál offered his daughter to him in marriage, and to cut off the subject-matter of dispute and perpetuate the opened friendship, sent his son to him, to conclude that alliance, that the means of their mutual participation in the equipments of the household and in fortune might be smoothly settled, and the distinguished families be united. And when his son-in-law thus fell into his hand he seized and confined him, and demanded of him an equivalent for the money and property which had been laid waste by his father's power. And Jaibál was helpless in this matter, and knew not by what means he could

obtain the deliverance of his son. And, in the midst of this affair, the Sultán arrived at these regions, and the chiefs of the Courts of India were up and down (overthrown) by his power, and, in their terror at the Sultán, sought refuge with Haibal, from the most distant parts of India. He became dispirited; and Chándraráy, confiding in the repelling power of his castles and forts, and in his numerous army, determined to oppose the Sultán, and sought aid therein. Then Haibal (*or Bahamal*) sent to him, saying, Mahmúd is not like the race of Indian chiefs, that one can play with him in war as upon a (chess) board, or think to meet his standards. He hath taken many forts stronger than thine, and hath subdued many forces more unyielding than thine. One may regard the opportunity of flying from him as a gain, and one should pray for escape from him and his comrades. This advice was favourably received, and he collected his property, horses, treasure, and possessions, and sought an asylum in a mountain, which could fight at butting with the constellation of the Bull, and in a forest which concealed the surface of the earth from the eyes of the stars, and drew the veil of concealment over the traces of his march, and it was not known to any one what course he had taken and where he had halted. And the view of Haibál, in giving this advice to Chandraráy, respecting absenting himself and

flying, was this, that he was in great alarm at the stars of the Sultán, and the stern imposition of the words of Islám, and thought that when the people and his kindred had been tied by the rope of Muhammadanism, and the Sultán had arrived, he would seize that fortress, and alone possess its wealth and plunder, and that his army would, in the productions of that country, find the pasture-field of their will and the quarters of exaltation. But the Sultán found no deliciousness in that victory, except in overcoming the design and flight of those rebellious infidels. He therefore proceeded to reap all the results (of that victory) and went nearly fifty parasangs, pursuing their footsteps. Upon the fifth of Shaabán he reached them, and he stirred up the chiefs of his army to hunt up and take vengeance upon them. The despicable ones cast away their baggage and furniture, that they might be, perchance, the preservation of their lives and their safety. But the people of Islám turned not at all thereunto, and were content with nothing but those worshippers of fire, those wicked infidels, and with industry in tracking them to vengeance. They went after them for three successive days, and killed them, and seized their arms and accoutrements. And they took some of their elephants by force, and some came (willingly) under the Sultán's yoke, to whom they gave the name of "God guided." And the Sultán praised the mer-

ciful acts of God and His accustomed generosity, because an elephant, which cannot be brought under except by the agency of horses, by the aid of chiefs (trainers) and by the sternness of men, was thus, by supereffluent kindness, cut off from the service of idols and placed in the service of devotion (Verse)

"Say to the Amir, 'Hast thou been served,' until the elephant came to thee, serving.

"Praise to him in whom are collected all blessings, far and near."

They obtained from the treasures of Chandra-rajah three thousand packets of gold and silver, precious gems, and valuable sapphires, and so great an abundance of slaves that the price of each never exceeded from two to ten dirhems, at the utmost. This victory fixed the embroidered border of the Sultán's prosperity and good fortune, and its renown extended from the East to the West—Salutation.

Account of the Construction of the Jama Masjid of Ghazna.

When the Sultán returned from Hind in victory and light, with abundant wealth and no scanty amount of gems, and so many slaves that the drinking-places and streets of Ghazna were too narrow for them, and the eatables and

victuals of the country sufficed not for them, and from the most distant parts tribes of merchants betook themselves to Ghazna, bringing so many slaves from Khurásán, and Mawarannahr, and Irák, that their number exceeded the free, and a white freeman was lost among them, the Sultán began to feel an earnest desire to expend the plunder of those princes upon some liberal work of piety and lasting benefit; and, before he marched forth on his expedition, he ordered that they should make a choice of a site for the Jama Masjid of Ghazna, since they had constructed the old mosque in bygone times and for a smaller number of people, at a time when Ghazna was but a narrow territory, and was inferior amongst civilized lands and renowned cities. And when the Sultán returned the enlarged site for the mosque had been fixed, and the foundation and corners completed, and the walls of the building were rightly arranged. Then he commanded that they should disburse abundant sums, for the purpose of completing this fabric, which was directed by faithful architects and ingenious overseers, and, from the confidential counsel of the Court, full power of forced requisition and of hastening the building were entrusted to them, so that from morning to evening superintendents were raising the building, and enquiring respecting verifying the work and repairing any injuries.

And when the halo of the sun touched the pinnacle of the horizon they produced scales, and their stipulated wages appeared, so that all went home with a good bargain of copious wages and complete reward, one with ready money from the Sultán's Treasury, and another with promissory notes from the treasury of Heaven. And they brought trees from Hind and Sind, and used these trees in the said works, for strongly constructing all belonging thereto, in the most complete and just proportion, and in solidity like the earth's centre, preparing and sealing the quantity necessary for every day. And they brought from distant places mighty stones (marble) square and hexagonal, all shining (and polished); and in front of the body of the elevation they drew out the domed porticoes so perfectly spherical that the measured arch of the sky was but a myth in comparison, and the beauty of the throne (*i. e., the golden throne of Persia*) and of Karnák lost their renown; and they worked it exquisitely, with various hues and colours, like the plains of the garden of spring full of enamelled (flowers) so that the eye became dim and the intellect confused in contemplating it; and they executed such gilding with paper and metal that the work of the artificers of all time was nothing in reference to the delicate execution of these mosaic artists. They spared not the purest gold in their painting and gilding, nay they employed

lumps of gold; and they crushed the body-like idols and corporeal images, and fastened them into the doors and walls. The Sultán commanded a closet to be constructed, for his own use; he commanded, also, the fabric to be square, with expanding porches and with interlacing curvatures,* and the walls of the gates lofty and projecting. They collected white marble, to cover the pavement, and on the sides of every court they delineated golden paintings, shaded with lapis lazuli. So great was the splendour, gilding, decoration, and colouring of this mosque that everyone who saw it took the finger of wonder into his mouth, and said, "Oh thou who hast beheld the mosque of Damascus, and art maddened thereby, and dost profess that no building like that is possible, and that no one can imagine any other specimen like that fabric, come and witness the mosque of Ghazna, that thou mayest see the vanity of thy boast and direct thy speech into the words of praise, and know that of the confluence of all plans this is the most beautiful, and of the conception of all examples this is the most elegant." In front there was an immense nave, for great festivals and

* تَشْبِيكْ آعطَافْ. If these words be rendered "the interlacing, intertwining, or interweaving curvatures" they would appear to express the grand distinctive feature of pointed architecture. One of the meanings of عطف given by Golius is "*Sonus ceu potior curvatura arcus.*"

congregations, in which six thousand servants of God might fulfil their duties, and be engaged in worship without inconvenience to one another; and he built near the precincts a college, and supplied it with valuable books and rare volumes of theology, and to those pure walls of writers and masters of profitable instruction professors, imáms, divines, and students directed their course, occupying themselves in obtaining and chanting knowledge; and from the endowments of the college they received daily a maintenance, and all necessaries, and a salary, yearly or monthly, was duly paid to them. They contrived a passage from the royal palace to the closet in the mosque, that he might be covered from the gaze of eyes and meeting the view of the people, and that the Sultán, at needful times, might, with full quiet and repose, proceed by that passage to accomplish his devotions; and every one of the nobles and great men had his private closet, so that it would be impossible to arrive at an idea of its beauty and perfect construction except by the evidence of the eye. And, during the empire of the Sultán, the extent of Ghazna exceeded all cities in spacious buildings and solid edifices; and amongst other fabrics there were a thousand walled inclosures, for the purpose of keeping the trained elephants, in each of which there was a spacious lodging and wide precinct for the elephant-grooms, the sup-

pliers of food, and the managers of maintenance. It was God who was the promoter and designer of this prosperity of the land and increase of His servants, in His bountiful providence and decree. He is supreme Ordainer of all things.

Account of the Affair of the Afgháns.

When the pimples of the disgrace and infamy of the *puritans* (lit., Tahirites, *heretics so called*) of Tabaristán had passed away the Sultán occupied himself in repelling the nation of the Afgháns, who made their homes in the acclivities of cliffs and the summits of mountains, and for a long time had been accustomed, with violent success, to stretch out their hand (to attack) the extreme border of his territories. He departed from Ghazna, with the wish to turn upon them, and, by giving their nest to the winds, cut off the germ of that annoyance. He therefore made as though he were marching towards another place and had a design against some other people, and suddenly fell upon them and, fastening the sword upon them, gave many people to destruction (Verse)

"Knocking down after knocking down, as if their skins were anointed with shame and bruises."

He then returned to Ghazna, and was undecided whether he would remain still for the rest of

the year, for the purpose of repose, and enjoying tranquillity for that winter, then determine upon his victorious design and cast out the residue of the infidel wretches, from the cities and dwellings of India, and annihilate those swords which were moving like a stream in the remoter provinces. His jealousy for Islám and regard for the faith, however, prevailed, and his progressing sword could not be content in its sheath, but, charmed with his power and courage, flew and escaped from its dwelling. And thus he marched towards India, with men as eager and excited as neighing colts, with the delight in battles felt by males in measuring swords and points, whose rose-bed was the battle-field and plain, whose violet-bed was daggers and spears, whose gardens were deeds of swords, whose fishponds were the streaming dead, whose scimitars were their stars, and to ford through dust their boats, whose companion and soothing mistress was victory, whose confidant was their dagger, and glory their echo. Thus they passed the desert, and left behind those fords and passages (of the river) and from the rest of those lands, from the plunder of encounters, and the injury of the army, a shout arose and a cry was raised to Heaven. And the Sultán gave quarter to whomsoever followed his religion, but if any one twisted his head from his decree he cast his head upon the ground. They ravaged the country, and collected

so great an amount that water and fire could not consume it, and it could not be reduced to the compass of calculation or to the order of account-books, until he arrived at the river named Rahib, where the waters were great and where was a difficult channel-passage, and whose whirlpool could carry away horsemen and footmen, and in whose fords great and small are drowned. Here, as in a fitting place, Jaibál had halted, trusting in the copious (streams) and stood to repulse the Muslim army; and he would not permit any one to pass the water. But, when night arrived, he took to flight, under the canopy of darkness. And when the Sultán knew his craftiness and his design he called his guards and prepared hides, and ordered them to inflate them, and tie them to their bellies, and thus pass the water. Eight of the guards, self-forgetful, ran and tied the inflated skins around them, and threw themselves into the water. And when Jaibal saw them on the surface, he sent five elephants with a body of men to resist them. But God, to verify His word and promise to the Apostle and Prophet, by the success and accomplishment of this saying, "The earth hath been referred to me, east and west, and wide regions have been brought near to me; my people have been offered to me therefrom," inspired those eight, so that they held on with firm hands and unmoveable resolution, and

pierced those elephants through and through, on the sides and flanks, with arrows, and bore men to the ground. And so kind was the Sultán that he encouraged every one to swim powerfully (by saying) "We ought to endure the toil of a day for the sake of the rest of a whole life." And the army, from the kind words of the Sultán and their eager devotion, pressed on, jostling one another. Some passed by the skins and others firmly held their horses' manes, so that all came forth safely and stood on the shore, without loss or suffering, and pressed upon their rear, and thus put many of these accursed creatures to the sword, and made the greater number prisoners. They brought seventy elephants to the Sultán's yoke, by the bridle of force and the noose of compulsion. And the infidels fled, leaving as booty their treasures and property. And the Sultán, before he engaged the Káfirs and conquered these false fugitives, had taken an omen from the glorious Kurán, "Your Lord hath contrived that you should destroy your enemies, and he will appoint you to succeed them in (their) land, so He sees how you act." This true promise was fulfilled, and Heaven freely granted victory and accomplished (success) in order to respond to His covenant and confirm His surety. Thus he was raised on the effectual settlement of the seat of justice, and on the well-ordered carpet of equity, and, thanking the

bounty of Heaven, felt assured of extended prosperity and empire, and happy support, and help for the course of successive years. And what is numbered and prepared for him in the palace of eternity and the everlasting Paradise is more valuable and preponderating. In the other world is good, and in blessing is the abode of the assured ones.

ACCOUNT OF THE KÁDHÍ ABUL-ULÁ-SAID-'BN-MUHAMMAD AND THE MASTER ABÚ-BAKR-'BN-MUHAMMAD-MAMSHÁD —HEAVEN BE MERCIFUL TO HIM!

The Master Abú-Bakr-'bn-Muhammad-Mamshád, during the days of the Sultán's empire, was regarded with the eyes of veneration, highly celebrated amongst the imáms of Khurásán. His father was an eminent scribe and doctor, a pillar of the monastic life. His son followed his father in the cowl-dress of self-restraint, and abstinence from the pomps of the world, and in living by rule. And when the Amír Nasir-Addín saw the loving ascetism of his comrade and the pure monasticism of his followers he persisted in commending him, and an upright confidence was knit up between them, and he looked at him with the glance of honour and esteem, and regarded highly his regular followers (called *Kerámites*) so that their market and sale (*i. e., their value and honour*).

reached the sky. Abúl-Fath-Busti would say, with regard to their excellence, "The divinity of divinity is that of Abú-Hanífa alone; the religion of religion is Muhammad-'bn-Kirám.* If I see those who do not believe in Muhammad-'bn-Kirám them I honour not," or *they must believe in another Kirám.*†

Now when the army of the Turks came to Khurásán and the Sultán was engaged in the conquest of Múltán they seized Abú-Bakr, because they mistrusted his high attachment to the Sultán and the influence of his followers. And when the standard of the Sultán dawned again (returned) they carried him with them, so that he had no opportunity of deliverance, and came to Nishapúr. This state of things was imputed as a merit and a desert, and he was distinguished by increased reverence, so that his exile and vexation was the cause of peculiar favour. And, in the midst of these affairs, the shame of the followers of novelty and leaders of crime appeared, and filled the people throughout the house of Islám with anxiety, on account of the wicked profession and inclinations of these followers of inward (religion) and heretics.

* Founder of the Kerámites, which sect Mamshád followed.

† This double meaning arises from a play upon the word Kirám, which signifies *honourable*, and also the proper name Kirám.

And the Sultán looked upon it as an obligation to unfold this affair, to arrange to bring out this sect (to light). Then the Master Abú-Bakr, from the soundness of his understanding and the acuteness of his conclusions in these matters, was an earnest instrument in seeing to this despicable sect, in cutting off this calamity, and in applying a remedy. And he killed many for this crime; and parties arose of the pious and the wicked, and many perished for truth or for vanity. And, from dread of these besetments, men became averse to the Master Abú-Bakr, and fled; for awe of him was established in the heart of noble and plebeian, and they subsequently declared that under the habit of the Sufi rule, the doctrine of the descendants of Ali (the Shüte) was shown forth. For their sectaries and populace took men captive, and patched up (filled) their own purses by them, and acquired much wealth from them. And if any one happened, by accident or on purpose, to oppose them they regarded him as related to heretics and evil-doers. Things proceeded thus for a long time, and no one had power to extinguish this tumult or to change this position. But time trains us to change of circumstances and to substitute alterations. Thus affairs had the pledge of times, days, and hours. But every one who would wait patiently for the vicissitudes of time he will behold the proud enslaved in depression and humility, and

he will find the enslaved placed under the canopy of peace and repose. And it happened that the Kadhi Abúl-Ulá-Said-'bn-Muhammad, in the year 420,* determined to fulfil the Pilgrimage. He was a most eminent doctor and great scribe of imáms, and from his solid excellence and copiousness in poetry, expended the days of his precious life in teaching and lecturing, and, from his scientific and abundant excellence, had robbed the horns and chiefs of time of the guiding-staff of direction. He was famed for his monastic living, for abstaining from concupiscence and desire, and bodily acts, and for occupying himself in great devotion, and in his stern authority would oppose the decree of kings and sultáns. When he came to Medina he was extremely honoured at the abode of the Khiláfat and seat of Imámship, and, returning therefrom, they gave him a letter to convey to the Sultán, and sent a message through him by word of mouth, upon the affairs of the kingdom. And when he came to the Sultán, to fulfil his commission, the Master Abú-Bakr was in the presence, and a conversation upon the doctrine of Kirám happened between them, and they displayed their confidence in the corporeality (of God) His similarity or resemblance† (to created

* If this date be correct Utbi must have survived to a later date of the reign of Mahmúd than has been supposed.

† *See* Translator's Introduction.

things) and such of His errors, and their tales about this similarity, their slips of the feet, and their deceptions as the most evident texts, fell sidelong on the Sultán's mind, who was disgusted with their references and their words. He called the Master Abú-Bakr before him, and commanded him to unfold the real principles of his followers. He disclaimed adherence to this sect and denied this imputation; but he was for this reason expelled from the Sultán's establishment; and the Sultán, in the matter of his followers, commanded that a royal supreme decree should be issued to the Nawwábs and magistrates, directing them to seize the superiors of the sect, that if any one of them disclaimed innovation and these vile sayings him they should release, and dismiss him to his position in the college as professor, or to his pulpit. But that if any one should persist in his blindness and errors to expel him from the city and discharge him from his college privileges, and corporate rights, persecuting his schismatical course and wicked separatism, and imprisoning his household with him. But the Sultán caressed the Kadhi Abúl-Ulá, and honoured him with a robe worthy of his glorious dignity, so that all marks of outward reverence were paid to him from His Majesty's sovereignty (Heaven glorify it!) and from regard to the glorious Law drew the two imáms (Othmán and Omar?) to complete autho-

rity. The mortification, however, and annoyance of the accusation, respecting his belief of an Incarnation and the possibility of the Deity assuming similarity, stirred up a tumult in the breast of the Master Abú-Bakr, who sought an opportunity for making an oration and the power of making an apology, and, by various craftinesses, managed that a trial should be ordered to set him right, and, for the purpose of testimonials and evidence, collected together many persons, who were forward ones in the troop of his inclination-seconders and agents for effecting his prosperity and credit. Thus a troop of ugly and ill-conditioned people assembled before the Çourt. Then the Sultán was enraged, and desired the Kadhi of Kadhis, Abú-Muhammad-Nasib to be present, and issued an edict to stir up the truth of this affair, and commanded an exposure of this feigning and colouring (doctrine). This Kadhi was remarkable amongst those in the Sultán's service, for his merits and discrimination, and both on account of his mighty knowledge and his perfect piety had been honoured with the chair of professor and the chief seat of determining doctor (Muftí) at Ghazna. His learning was exalted like a column and his rank for piety so great that the destinies of kingdoms were confided to him. And when he summoned the Kadhi Abúl-Ulá and the Master Abú-Bakr, Abú-Bakr knew that his seat was broken, and that the

building of his tower upon that boasting, and obstinacy in those assertions would be the cause of disgrace. He said, therefore, such is the malignity to which our mutual dissensions, respecting learning, and our mutual envy as to rank have arrived! The cause of it amounts to this, that he imputes to me the doctrine of Form, and I declare that he is involved in the heresy of the Mutazilites; and thus both of us have punctured one another with words of malice, quarrelling and anger. Let him be acquitted of this charge, and let him free me from the imputation of this crime. Hereupon several persons present gave their testimony as to the responsibility and regular good conduct of Abú-Bakr, but others cast before the Court the drink of shame and attached the garland of the wreath of disgrace, and so that harsh revelations and savage cross-questionings ensued, and if the awe of His Highness the Sultán had not prevented it, the violent uproar and unpleasant proceedings would have been renewed. But the Kadhi of Kadhis reported all this contest to the ears of the Sultán, in mild terms, and conveyed the representation thereof to the presence, in an agreeable way. And the Amír Nasr-'bn-Nasir-Addín sought an opportunity, and in a diploma expressed a high opinion of the remarkable piety of this Kadhi, and advised the Sultán to examine into the opposition and indignity which had resulted to him in the above

affair. The Sultán acknowledged his disinterested remarks, and treated the ill-wishers of the Kadhi Abúl-Ulá with indifference. Thus this Kadhi returned to his presidency and reposed in the abode of abundant respect, and declined all squabbling and fighting, and was occupied in the daily wages of devotion and in diffusing the wealth (of religion) well knowing that the residue of life was too precious to be wasted in the service of high-raised desires and malicious words. His two sons, Abúl-Hasan and Abú-Said, were his deputies, and he thus lived in settled comfort and dignity, occupied in arranging learned points and in rectifying, by sight and measure (*i. e., by acuteness and judgment*) the discussion of questions, so that, instead of vanity, his life attained abundant affluence, as Abú-Busti says (Verse)

"Heaven hath accumulated upon me four things, amongst which are honour and respectability in station, the science of easily swallowing wine, affluent means of enjoyment, and a happy mind."

As to Abú-Bakr and his followers, through his penetrating judgment, his high rank, his overflowing credit with all classes of the people, and his obstinacy towards the chiefs of the State, he passed the line of rectitude, and tongues uttered his conduct to the Sultán's Court, and a cry arose from men on account of that which they endured from

his sectaries. The Sultán for some time severed himself from these sayings, and abstained from the cognizance of this vain course of proceeding, and from destroying its grounds, not wishing to render ineffective the respect which he had arranged for him, from estimation of his merits, or that the fabric which had been founded upon the good pleasure of God should be demolished, until when the matter exceeded all bounds, and the wickedness of that party came to its height, then he committed the dictatorship of Nisapúr to Abú-Alí-Al-Hasan-'bn-Muhammad-'bn-Abbás. He was a man nobly born, whose ancestors, during the time of the family of Sámán, had been remarkable for abundant wealth and esteem. His father, at the outset of the Sultán's history, whilst he was Commander of the Forces, entered into his service, and was particularly intimate with him, and, on account of the suitableness of his youth, was enrolled in the troop of his comrades and friends; but his life attained not maturity, and he departed young; and with respect to his son, inasmuch as he had possessed so confidential an intimacy with the Amír Abú-Nasr, and had been modelled by his character, and had found the utmost profit from the natural lights of his glorious disposition, and had imitated the deep intellect, generous feelings, and noble nature (of that Prince) they, when Abú-Nasr deceased, represented to the

Sultán's consideration his eloquence, dignity, elegance, and agreeable manners, the Sultán summoned him before the throne and placed him on the seat of private friends. He came to be the first object of the Sultán's eyes, and was selected by him remarkably for friendship and honour. He arrived at high posts and attained to the place of the category of vizirs, amidst the nobles, the generals, and the high officers. The Sultán's view, in investing him with the collar of this dictatorship, was, that with reference to these people, who, by reason of their devotional and monastic way of living, had acquired such authority, and who had made the grandeur of their position vie with the grandeur of religion, and had imagined that the moon could not support her claim compared with their place, and that the stars would be unable to inflame their high devotion, he should put them all to their proper labour and extirpate their errors, and tie their hands from coveting high positions or from ambitiously craving for the world. And when he came to Nisapúr he began to break them in, so that if you obtained the testimony of the majority they would declare themselves satisfied with his government and benefited by his exact efficiency. Thus, through dread of him, Nisapúr became calm, and the hissing of these scorpions and noise of these locusts of self-will was appeased, and no one possessed the power of disputing about

their ways (of religion) or of quarrelling about their party standards. Thus these people of confusion and chiefs of innovation drew their heads into their collars, and folded up their skirts from the quest of eminent things (Verse)

"The servant of God hath dispersed the dread of vengeance, in the night, when the scorpions were hissing."

And although, in appeasing this uproar and extinguishing this outcry, he displayed commendable marks of industry, all bore the impress of the blessed resolution, and all was the effect of the awe felt for the Sultán, by whose power a mountain would quake, and from dread of whose scimitar the dust would arise from the depth of the sea. And although the tears of the clouds be the cause of the beauteous sheen of vegetation, and the stones of the brave the proximate reason of the flight of devils, the intelligent know that the first cause of all is that Providence who fans the stars of his gift by the breathings of his mercy, and that Almighty one who lights the lanterns of Heaven by the flame of the sparks of His bounty. He is the adorable necessitator of the produce of the clouds, not the clouds, and He is the causation of the periods (times) of the stars, not the stars. Thus this governor made this mob follow their bread-winning, and whatever, during the time of confusion, they had seized in their impurity, he

seized from them again, and confined them all in prison. He wished to give a rubbing, also, to Abú-Bakr, but he withdrew, and sat down in the corner of secrecy. And, because the Sultán did not wish to molest him further, or issue a writ demanding money from him, he turned away his eyes from him, that he might occupy himself in devotion at home, and change his disposition from its custom of exciting tumults and deceiving the people. And as to the party of Sayyadites, who had withdrawn their foot from the circle of uprightness and the direct object, he settled them in the right path, by various punishments and fines, and assured them that the ample veneration and supremacy of their body was founded upon their obedience to the Sultán, upon pursuing the path of rectitude, and upon withdrawing from all measures of falsehood and malice. And all expressed submission to him, and took the road of sincerity and modesty; and then appointing as his deputy, with the confirmation of the Sultán, Abú-Mansúr-Nasr-'bn-Rámus, who was his other self, he returned to the presence. The Sultán entertained great regard for him, on account of his expedition in that affair, and for having managed the preservation of his honour.

Moreover he issued rigid orders to the great, eminent, and noble men of his Court, respecting assiduous obedience and steady service, obliging

them all to attach themselves to the Diván, for two parts of the day, and to render an indication (or evidence) of their labour, and if any one twisted his head from his commands and reproofs, he gave them a noble rubbing, so that all placed their necks beneath his authority, and became submissive and attentive to his orders. In a short time his affairs reached the Pleiades, and his government went on in such a manner that, in the land of Khurásán, no one had ever conducted it in such order and beauty. However he passed a long life,* with abundant wealth, with numerous servants and troops, in liberality and plenty. During his administration the affairs of Nisapúr were brought to thorough order. His displayed the face of level equity between the widow and the wealthy, and the door of boasting and oppression was closed. And he charged a faithful Muhtisab (examiner of weights and measures, and censor) to go amongst the market people and workmen, in order to guard the standard of weights and measures. He made each street a clear road for asses, crowds, and stalls, so that the people, in the mutual transaction of business, were enabled to refrain from extremities of impatience. Formerly the streets of the bazars had not been covered, and from the marks of dust and the annoyances of rain

* This expression would imply that Utbi lived during a great part of Mahmúd's reign.

the market people and men of business had been vexed; but, during his government, he ordered that the roofs of the bazars should be connected together, and in the space of two months the city was entirely covered, roof by roof, with clean roofs and light-affording interwoven (leaves) so that all might everywhere be gladdened by the penetration of the rays of the sun. He expended nearly one hundred thousand dinars, through his goodness of soul, in promoting justice and gladness for the people, in honourable and pious liberalities, and in building bazars; and the city was so finished that the eye was never satisfied with contemplating its paintings and pleasant objects, so that, in the midst of Nisapúr, there appeared another Arcturus and an eighth heaven. His conduct, both regarding the city and its administration, was fully recognised by the Sultán, and rewarded with corresponding praise and satisfaction.

Account of Nasr-'bn Nasir-Addín-Sabaktagín.

When the Sultán took the kingdom of Khurá-sán and the Amír Nasr-'bn-Sabaktagín, being of confirmed sincerity and mature age, discharged the duties of allegiance and withdrew his skirt from the Amír Ismaël, and resolved, with evidences of faithfulness and fidelity, and with the fulfilment of service, to follow perseveringly the

sovereignty of his (brother Mahmúd), the Sultán gave him his own place, as Commander of the Army and province of Nishapúr, where he fulfilled that office for some years, usefully and profitably, and in repulsing Muntasir and efficiently completing that matter attained the reputation which has been described, and used great diligence to cut off those who would return to confusion or invoke the days of tumult, by means of his excellent administration and success. And afterwards the Sultán summoned him to the service of the throne and enjoyed his society. He served him in his expeditions and at home, and in his wars and victories over the infidels, being, with sincere brotherly love and pure affection, the nearest connexion of that generous and noble nature. The Amír was a strict adherent of the school of Abú-Hanífa (Heaven be compassionate to him), and felt blessed in associating with the partizans and participating in the affairs of that doctor. He went to the neighbourhood of the college of the Kadhi Abúl-Ulá-Sáid, and spent great sums in building it, and endowed it with considerable real and personal property, so that this precinct remained a perpetual memorial of him and a lasting alms. These revenues were a good thing for the college of the doctors and divines. So noble, pure, kind, and liberal was his disposition that a harsh word was never heard from him during his whole life,

and he offered no wrong or violence to any one. But the Providence of God gave him no time, for he died young and left the world stripped of his virtues, generosity, and inward (goodness). Utbi wrote this letter in his praise (Verse)

"Alas for the journey without a bait! Alas for the sigh over the good! for Nasr, son of the Amír Násir-dín-Allah, Centre of Wars and Warriors, General of the Army, Precious Pearl, Crown of Glory, Refuge of the Noble and of the Learned!" &c.

And at the time of this affliction about him (may Heaven sanctify his soul) as tears were divided amongst all universally, it could not be but that the Kadhi Abúl-Ulá, with all his order, and all who drank of the clear water of the Law, should be abundant in their grief as individuals, and intense in their sorrow as a community. But God made known to them the perpetual fountain of His guidance towards His extended shadow, His perennial drink, His asylum to which they were tending, and His standards, assuming victory to religion. And (*they would have been in despair*) but that God (may His glory be renowned!) stopped the fracture of their affliction and the diminution of their advantages, by the glorious empire of the lord of the poor, the pleader of God's cause upon earth, the Sultán of the world, Yamín-Addoulah-wa-Amín-Almillat—Heaven prolong his existence and eternize his grandeur in this world and in the

next, as an equivalent for his sorrow and a compensation for his distress, by gladdening his words after this sad announcement. Truly he was a bright warrior and a talented pious man (if) there was ever another whose endowments to the praise of God were as a flowing robe. He was a flourishing plant, the tutelary (power) of the caravan of his successors. May Heaven perpetuate (the Sultán's) greatness, exploits, and goodness! For, on the earth, no one will succeed that incomparable one; that mind (pleasing to) God in preponderating patience. For He hath made him renowned in illustrious victories and hath imparted to him the fulness of the earth's gifts, so that he hath stripped the world, in adding kingdoms to his thread (*or stringing kingdoms*) and carrying out the destiny of necessary truth, in taking possession of them. Heaven, then, have mercy on the Amír! bereaved (of life) illustrious, glorious, deprived (of existence) exemplary, devout! May Heaven pity him, by cooling his spirit and sanctifying his soul! and recognize his zeal for the protection of the faith and his earnestness in God's way, and his generous gifts of property to (religious) chiefs. Heaven, also, recompense the Shaikhs of the Sayyads (*descendants of Muhammad*) in their intellect and in their opinions, by preserving them in the faith, and making their weights (merits) heavy in the equitable adjustment! And Heaven

make us all of the happy ones the day of judgment, when God's decree calls the company of his people (to that place) wherein there is the straight road (of truth). For the last follows the first (*the last hour necessarily follows upon the first.*)

PERSIAN TRANSLATOR'S PERORATION.

SINCE this Translation hath arrived at its conclusion let us now (if the one God will) bring forward, succinctly and briefly, some passages of historical events, of various tumults and confusions which occurred during times of remissness, of the surprising incidents of the chief eminent men, who exercised the sovereign power, and of the condition of Jarbázakán.

ACCOUNT OF OCCURRENCES OF THAT TIME.

In the year 582 the sign Libra had assembled within itself the seven planets; and it had been for a long time reported in men's mouths, and in their books the astrologers had averred their judgment, that at this time there would be a deluge of wind three kos long, and as some said

ten kos wide, which would extend over twenty kos of ground, which would carry off high mountains, so that neither men or beasts would remain, and that this time would be the season of the judgment, which, according to the glorious Kurán, to histories and by investigation is to come. This opinion obtained a mastery over the mind, and a great terror seated itself in the conceptions. And one of the learned of Khurásán brought forward the story of a tradition (and there was great confidence in this tradition) that the Prophet was asked, "When is the judgment?" He replied, "It is the *appointed*" (*Al-Kimat*), (*i. e., Al Kiámat, the judgment day, is Al Kimat, settled, appointed, &c.*) They reiterated the question; he returned the same answer. Hereupon the ingenious considered this word (*Al-Kimat*, &c.) and sought its force in calculation. And they found that from the letters of this word resulted the number 582, which number coincided with the judgment of the astrologers, and corresponded with the years of the Hijra. By this their fancies became more confirmed, and many people of distinction and wealth and opulence were resolved to take refuge and to dwell in caves; and some acted upon this determination, and constructed fortress-houses, in the water-courses and passages of the earth. And, in the month Rajib, of the year 20 of this peculiar conjuncture predicted, the order of Providence so

fell out that for one month not a leaf moved on the trees and the harvests remained in the fields, because the wind gave no assistance in winnowing them. Whereupon all the world were persuaded that the words of the astrologers and their hurricane were wind from end to end. All, however, were deficient in knowledge and ignorant of the exquisite truth of His operations, and knew not that when God makes the affairs of peoples decay, and sends punishment upon them none of the learned can obtain an entrance into the ideality (of that dispensation) and that (the declaration was fulfilled) which was announced in His glorious words, "Upon whom I will not cause vanity to come, either before or behind." This, moreover, reminds us of that passage upon Ad and Thamúd, and other people, "We have sent upon them a cold blast, in the day of their misfortune, and we have made it high, we have made it low." These examples we have alleged, by way of analogy, and the meaning of these Divine words is that the Divine rule ordains, that He always displays himself as near to people, and gives support and heavenly aid, that they should be friendly to all portions of the world, and that He it is who confers authority and royalty, and government over those inhabitants. And such is the wisdom of God, in this matter, that the inhabited world might dwell undisturbed, that they (kings, &c.)

should maintain their flocks and subjects on the broad way of justice and right, so that by their dread and government, the road of enmity and tyranny might be closed. And, whilst they observe this straight path, and tranquillity accrues through them to God's people, day by day, victory, conquest, success, and respect will be united for them, and Heaven will defend them from their enemies and evil-willers, and the hearts of all who are in the grasp of their power will be confirmed in their allegiance and love, and so continue. And when Eternal counsel inclines to diminish them, and a time of ruin and humility arrive (and these vicissitudes have occurred to the descendants of many kings, sultáns, and chiefs, who have been exposed to the harsh anger of Heaven) then compassion started up in hearts; but if they make friends with oppression towards their subjects, and employ severity and harshness towards the ryots who are God's trust to them, then the hearts of the people are heavy towards them, and all turn their thoughts to impair their royalty and authority, and in their prayers and times of private devotion make supplications for evil. Thus it is that the cold blast of tumult blows upon them, and the scorpions of the text, "We have made it high and low," appear, and the miraculous verse, "We have exposed them to injury and disgrace," and the word, "We have surely written to them, that they

should kill your lives and expel you from your houses," were all verified, as we have witnessed in our age with the understanding eye, and for the space of one's life have seen that, for these twenty years, which was the period of this conjuncture of affairs, the army was of one word and one soul, ready to exalt the Sultán's standards and support his throne, and thus he was powerful in the midst of Irák, that essence (or 'ομφαλος) of the earth and flower of the world, so that, from the terror of their strength and awfulness, the royalty and august sovereignty (of the rulers) was firm in all minds throughout Rúm, Hind, and Turkistán, unto the utmost parts of the west, and the crown-possessors of the world and army-leaders of earth submitted to their sway, and all inclined to obey and follow them, all being in the firm bonds of confidence, that no decrease could take place in that sovereignty until the eve of the day of judgment. But the decline and setting of their stars of majesty and greatness arrived, by the non-existence (death) of him who was the arranger of the ties of their power and the basis of their eminence, the Atábeg Azim-Mulk-Muzim-Muhammad-'bn-Atábeg-Assaíd-Ildigiz, Heaven sanctify his blessed soul! who was the guiding guardian of the State. Then the kingdom remained as a body without a soul, and comrades, all minions, and fellow-companions, all eating and sleeping, united

their swords, when great treachery and foul conspiracies were established amongst them, and gentlemen became negligent of the attention due to subjects, and subjects forgot the benefits of superiors. Friends changed friends, their own lost all affection for their own, beloved came to the fight against beloved. And if I had resolved to unfold all the insurrections, slaughters, and wars of that period, my books would not be bound volumes except in the next world. One remarkable point, however, is to be noted, that with respect to every one of these great men, chiefs, and lords, in whatever quarter they sought an asylum and in whatever path they sought refuge, from that place started forth their destruction, so that, like the moth, they threw themselves into the fire. Hence it was with them as the proverb says, "The small crows work the mischief," and "He stirs up sand with his nails," and "Whom we trust, of him be cautious."

The explanation of all this is as follows: the Sultán Togrul, who was sovereign and emperor of all, wrote letters, step by step (*i. e.*, with increasing earnestness) to the Sultán of Khwárismsháh, respecting repulsing the army of the Atábeg, imploring aid and using humble supplications; until, when he came to Irák, affairs had assumed another hue, and the adversaries of the kingdom took refuge with him, and an army, numerous as

mice or locusts, came to Rai. The Sultán, with some supporters, made head against them, and threw himself into the midst of them, and, advancing from the front, called out his name and lineage, when they surrounded and took him, and lamentably slew him, and tied his headless body to a tree, in the market-place of Rai, so that men saw with their eyes that which had never been arranged in their hearts (to conceive). This, amongst many verses, was published in his praise (Verse)

"The dove never ceases her cooing,
"Whilst playing with her broken heart."
"I would not see the face of day!
"For it limits not my burning sorrow," &c.

The Atábeg Muzaffir-Addín-Kazil-Arslán, after the decease of his brother, came to Irák. He was a young man of virtuous disposition, gentle nature, and upright family; and they said to him that he should strike at the root of opportunity and seat himself upon the throne of empire, for that, on account of his royal and abundant troops and allies, there would be no door (opening) for violence. He listened to their words and, in order to strengthen the means of empire and fasten the ties of his rule, he took in marriage his brother's wife, a royal lady, a guide of the State, and a mother of princes. He believed that this alliance would be a means of supporting and perpetuating

his sway. After some days, on a certain night, he was killed by some sacrificing (assassinating) hand, and his enemies, whatever may have been the passion of their inclinations, were enabled to exemplify (realize) it, but report said that this calamity proceeded from this house (Verse)

"It was said, whether true or false:
"What blame attaches to thee from a thing that is (only) *said?*"

And Khwájah-Aziz-Addín, who was Chief Vizír in the days of the Atábegs, had obtained great authority, and arrived at the highest point and at a dignified position with those princes, and the Atábeg Muzaffir-Addín had confirmed him in the seat of office. But when he entered into his project about Azarbiján he became rebellious without cause and went to Hamadán. And in the hope (of the aid) of certain nobles, who at that conjuncture conspired with him, rose up in opposition to his lord. The Sultán Togrul treated him kindly, and he became Lord of Koms, placing him at the head of the State, until (at last) he put him and his sons, who had been Secretaries of State, in chains (Verse)

"I taught him to shoot every day,
"Until, when his arm became powerful, he shot me."

And Jamál-Addín-Abi-Samarmí, and Saif-

Addín-Rús, and Jamál-Addin-Azbah, who had been private officers of the Atábeg Said-Muhammad, who by his patronage had been raised to rank and to the command of 1,000 horse, made an outbreak against the sons of their lord, and went to His Highness Togrul, and in a short time all three were killed by his hand.

And Sharfaddín-Albarhúl, agent in the Amír's Court and for the lords of the Atábeg, in like manner came with provisions and delicacies, by night, to their abode, and*.... (them).... came to the Sultán, and he was killed by his hand.

And Prince Kotul-Itang (or Itabkh) who was the corner of the liver of the empire and the light of the religion of the State, requested assistance from the Sultán of Khwárismshah. This Sultán intimated his sincere wish to aid him and to repel his enemies; and when he came to Irák, Kotul-Itang went out to meet him, unaccompanied and unguarded, and when they met he killed him, so that it was with him according to the saying, "He sought refuge from the sun-scorch in the fire."

And Sirájaddin-Kirnáz and Núr-Addin-Kirá, two viceroys and columns of the State, upon whom the sphere of affairs revolved, went to the capital, and appeared before the army of the Vizir Mawwayyad-Addín; and some evil suspicion had

* MS. confused.

occurred between them, and at Darábah, by the hand of five Turkománs, ignorant that they were as vicegerents (or lieutenants) of the Vizir of the capital Darábah, came to slaughter.

And Núr-Addin-Kurán-Khan, who was the leavening principle of all, the column of the confusion of the times, and the centre of the orb of strife, constructed a notable fortress in the midst of Irák, and sent all his property there, imagining that the vicissitudes of fortune would never reach its elevation, and that, with such a castle, he need not fear the sidelong attack of unforeseen occurrences. And they told the news of this castle of Núr Addín to Muhammad-Wisháh, and it became the cause of an enmity between them, and he took back the castle into his own hand, and gave him an (harsh) answer, of which vexation he died. Subsequently two sons of Kurán, who were shaking the chain of the supplication of revenge, came eagerly and earnestly to the base of his castle, and he drew them into a noose by a manœuvre, and, carrying them both into the castle, cut off their heads. The end of the affair was, that he who had caused this calamity, without cause or commotion, voluntarily relinquished all, and came to Khurásán, where he established himself for the space of two years; and on the day when he came with the army of Khurásán to the frontiers of Irák, he perished in an attack, bearing this ill-will

to the dust with him. And the Amír Sayyid-Ulá-Addouláh, Chief of Hamadán, who was Khalíf of Ajamí (Irák) who excelled in noble and high rank, rose up in opposition to the Sultán. And his end, also, was not happy.

And Sadr-Addin-Muhammad-'bn-Ahdulattíf-Khajandí took refuge with the army at Bagdád. He conveyed them to Isfahán, but he was martyred by their hands.

And when the army of Khárism came to Irák, the first who rose in their favour was Az-addin, Murtiza (chosen) of Rai. He also obtained the degree of martyrdom from their hands.

And Azaddín-Farj-Sultaní, who in reading and cleverness was equal to Mercury, fell like an intelligent bird into a trap, for he, with a small troop, threw himself with the greatest avidity into the midst of the army of Bagdád, at Isfahán, who in the twinkling of an eye put his head on the head of a spear, and carried it about the world.

And Núr-addin-Kaljab, who, at the close of his life, found the extent of Irák deserted, and took possession of the kingdom, and thus peacefully obtained those lands over which heroic heads had gone, and for the sake of which mighty princes and furious lords had perished (he obtained them crying) Pardon! Forgiveness! and, because he had no other weapon but the sword and knew not

the rules of sovereignty, he impaled some, but in the end was killed by them.

I have adduced this narrative that it may be known that all human arrangements are vain before God's predestination, and that every one upon and to whom the sealed decree descends, and the known last hour arrives, must go as chosen for the stated hour of death and ever-recurring destruction, as is declared in the glorious Kurán, "Say if you be in your houses on the day when those who are written down to die go out to battle (you would die) upon your beds." Upon this there is a well-known saying of the Lord of the Law (Muhammad? peace be with him) When God wills to carry out His decree to the utmost He deprives the intelligent and the wise (of their qualities) that He may fulfil His purpose and His decree. And every one knows that if he would fly and seek refuge he must do so to the holy presence and mighty Court. There he must seek protection, and must hold fast by a good mind, and right rule, and pleasing conduct, like the Emperor, the just Múíd-Muzaffar-Mansúr, holy warrior, perfect uniter of the State and religion, victor for Islám and Muslims, Ulugh-Barík (Heaven, magnify his power!) whose deeds in these times give forth perfume, by reason of his justice and equity, in the good ways of Heaven. And Heaven has guarded him and his house from

misfortune, and with generous liberality hath brought him out from the deluge of this blood-eating conjuncture and cloudy fortune. May his days be prolonged and may he find support, if God will. In verification of the words of my introduction I will narrate one of God's mercies to him, that his goodness may not perish or his bounties be unfruitful, as the Kurán speaks plainly, "As to ye who believe and do good works, ye shall not lose the reward of the good ye have done." In the days of the difference and strife of Sultán Togrul with the army of the Atábegs this king was taken prisoner. All his longed-for liberty was cut off, all hope of liberation and deliverance intercepted. His family and dependents had not a glimpse of hope, and in cautious and confused apprehension their breath went out of their bodies, and strength from their hearts. The troops killed his son-in-law, Sharfaddin, a young man purer than the moon and more handsome than the cypress, and carried his head before his dependents, upon a spear. The Sultán having obtained possession of the citadel of Farzín and sent a governor there, this king became the hostage for this fortress, and all were in despair. At that time I was at Court and saw that the just Lord, Chief of Vîzirs, Abúl-Kásim-'bn-Al-Husain, during this sad calamity, sought to wash himself (with weeping) like a fish, and poured tears from

his eyes, like the rain. Day and night he lamented and grieved before Heaven, and gave alms at his door, throwing himself on the ground in the mosques and temples, and imploring the aid of the prayers and meditations of the worthy, until the Lord, the changer of hearts, and causer of causes, caused it to be intimated, in the Bazár of Hamadán, by the tongue of one of the ryots of Kashán, as follows: The Atábeg Muhammad bought Jamal-Addín (father of Ulugh-Barík) for two or three hundred dínars;—Oh, that the Sultán would sell him to us for an hundred thousand dinars, then men would with accord collect droppings of gain (small collections) by mentioning it in the lanes and houses, during their gossiping conversations, so that they would redeem him, since we have seen much good in him, and it were pity that distress should come upon such nobleness! By good chance one of the Sultán's private household passing by heard this, and informed the Sultán, and the Providence of God aided, and when the Sultán's eyes were sleeping like poppies, but his sight awake, he thought, what a life such a one has passed amid his subjects! It would be a perfect disgrace to set a value on such a man, or for worldly considerations to injure so pure a soul; he therefore, after a few days, liberated him, and caressed and honoured him. And the people observed his day of release as if it were his birth-

day. Let the men of the world take example from this affair and understand the truth of this sentiment, "If God take you in hand for evil let not your passions be displayed to Him, and if He take you in hand for good (be equally resigned) for He is mighty over all things, He is supreme over His servants, He is the wise Revealer of novelties."—(Kurán). During these confusions the misery of the people was inconceivable, and throughout all the regions of Irák not one old family remained. Palaces upon which thousands had been expended were demolished and their ruins sold for eight brass coins, and an incomparable (dwelling) &c., which in times of quietness was worth ten or twenty gold coins, through the straitness of provisions, and the many taxes and extortions of the army was given gratis. And no one was bold enough to go out, for there was no security against the dread of hyænas and lions, who made their dens in the dwellings of husbandmen and farmers, and no one had an idea of going out except with comrades and weapons. In several places an hideous scarcity ensued, wherein the poor perished, and the revenue of the rich and powerful fell, and the sons of men became foolish and oppressors, and all turning aside from the dress (habits, customs, &c.) of parents and ancestors, relinquished the sword and pen, and rested all their eagerness upon dagger and sword, so that the destructive and ill-

disposed obtained the superiority, and affairs became unsettled and wise men wished to die. And amidst this confusion Jarbázkán shared more than other cities in trouble, for two reasons; one, that it was midway between two capitals, and in the neighbourhood of some fortresses which had sprung up, so that it suffered in every new calamity of Irák, as the lines express it (Verse)

"I have been at Jarbázkán and I have complained of a restive horse, after a vicious one," &c. (*i.e.*, I suffer from both parties.)

And the second cause was that every year three wicked divisions (of banditti, &c.) came, who ceased not to injure Muslims, both in life and property; and the rulers of the interior were worthy of the time and oppressed mankind, so that even great men thought safety and their lives a gain, and neither dumb or speaking beings remained in their palaces, so that in the confusion most preferred to exile themselves from their homes, and to depart and to be content with absence, until God gave help. And the Sultán appointed Ulugh-Barík and the Khwájah Jihán, Sayyid of Vizírs over the finance. And they, seeing the helplessness and distress and misery of the country, gave it the sceptre of compassion and considered how to rectify its affairs. They revived the population, restored the revenue, and established equity.

They annihilated with the sword those gushing fountains of iniquity which had appeared in times of weakness, so that the people of vanity drew their heads within their collars and placed their feet upon the skirt of good manners, ceasing from violence, and betaking themselves to letters and handicrafts. And they resolved that the administration should be confided to none other than to the Amír Rais-Jamál-Addín, Mayor and Lieutenant of the city, a young man of remarkable ability, who won the love and fidelity of all. He had in youth the experience of age, was generous as the rain or the sea, in anger like an enraged lion, in liberality he would displace Hatim-Tai. When he was settled he began, like a physician, to search the causes (of the disease) and cut up by the roots all that caused the injury of the people. He restrained his two brothers, oppressors and evil-doers, and as to their followers, the fountains of wrong, some he slew with the sword and others he impaled. When he saw worthy people he took them to himself. He lived upon his own property and oppressed none, and removed the fires of confusion which had existed some years. Hence peasants and workmen gladly returned to their different employments, and the fugitives sought their homes, and tranquillity and peace resulted. Therefore all were well inclined to their king and assigned themselves to his rule, for his moderation

and self-restraint and feeling gave confidence to the subject. They redoubled their love and regard, and, when on the carpet of prayer, their supplications arose from the heart to Heaven, for the just King Ulugh-Beg and the Lord of Vizírs Azz-Násir. Their renown is spread throughout all regions of the earth, and in mansions eternal there will be a home for them in Paradise, a recompense for their good deeds will be there assigned, and apportioned to them on the day of judgment, when their rank will be very great amongst that assembly of jubilant guests (if it be Heaven's will).

The author, after some final encomiastic verses, thus concludes :—

This short history has been written in the heroic bosom (private residence, &c., or patronage) of Táj-Addin-Muin-Al-Islám, Sayyid Al-Amáthal-wa-Assadúr, Ali-'bn-Muhammad-'bn-Abúl-Ghayth, Grand Agent of the empire and centre tie of the State, and this book is concluded by his assistance. The Persian verses which have been composed and annexed are more than was enjoined by the lucid mind and obedient nature of him who can compose rhyme and blank verses, and make up a history with lawful magic (fascination) and clear water (beauty). His glory, his ancestors, and the

virtues of his father, who was the Ibn-Amíd of his time, and the Abdul-Ahmíd of the age, are brought forward in this complete book, entitled "A gift to the universe upon the merits of Irák."*

I will demand, as in marriage, from thy love, the falling away from blaming (this work). I will endow what I demand with all that I have freely and liberally. If those who are fully equal to this difficult work be desired we (Heaven prolong the remaining years of the high Court!) are in affliction, of the humblest of his people, and poor, and (even) the nobler are but suspected amongst his tribe, chiefly on account of two wants and sorrows, want of talent and distance from our country. But the officers and the high assembly (Heaven perpetuate its greatness, and the greatness of his accomplished comrades and guests, and of his ministers in guiding and consoling!) [still remain].† When, however, the dove is cooing his excellent notes one does not make the pigeon fly (in rivalry) and when the cymbals warble no responsive strains can aid her sweetness; and if he would be willing to superadd heaviness (importance) to my light weight he in wisdom is

* تحفة الافاق في محاسن العراق. It may also be rendered "upon the benefactors of Irák," or افاق may be derived from فوق, Conj. iv, افاق, to exalt, *restore to health and strength, &c.*

† Still remain, *i. e.*, to compile this translation better.

adapted for the highest place (function) (beyond me). Unto him will I be attached, morning and evening, and will serve him as spiritualized bodies serve. Hereby I shall attain great glory and happy blessedness, and augmented exaltation to my mind.

The Arabic text concludes thus:—

May God have mercy upon his servant who saith Amen. Now is completed the Kitab-Al-Yâmini, upon the explication of the history of the Sultán Yamîn-Addoulat-wa-Amin-Al-Millat, Abul-Kasim-Mahmúd-'bn-Sabaktagín, and the commendation of the assemblies of his contemporaries and comrades, with the annexed histories of the princes of the provinces in his vicinity, as collected by Abú-Nasr-Muhammad-Abdul-Jabbár-Al-Utbi, wonder of scribes. May God illuminate his grave and gladden his glory!

NOTES.

P. 14.—The meaning of the Persian Translator apparently is that he excelled both in Persian and Arabic compositions, but chiefly in the latter.

P. 36.—Effervescing fountain. The following is from the *Dabistán* (Translation of Shea and Troyes, Vol. II, p. 167):—

"There are many miraculous things in Kashmír, one of them is *Sandebar*, and they relate:—In ancient times a holy Brahmin dwelt in a cavern of the mountain, where he devoted himself to the worship of the Almighty God. Once every year he went to the Ganges to bathe. After having passed several years in that way Ganga said to the Brahmin, Thou measurest always such a length of road, on which thou dost set aside the worship of God; my convention with thee is this, that, when the sun reaches the constellation of the Bull, I will three times a day come to thy resting-place. From this time, when the great luminary throws his effulgence towards the constellation of the Bull, the water of the river springs up boiling from the basin of the fountain, which is near the place of his devotion. Sundeberari, in the cavern of the mountain, became celebrated. It is a square basin, and has on its eastern wall an open cavity, from which, as well as from several other vents and holes in the sides of the basin, the water springs up. However steadfastly one may look the bottom cannot be discovered, and in the middle of the eastern side there are seven holes, which the

people of Kashmir call *Saptarshi*, 'the seven Rishis;' on the northern side there is an issue, which they call *dama bhavani*. When the world-illuminating sun begins to enter the constellation of the Bull the water appears there in the following manner: it springs up first from the large cavity, then from the *Saptarshi*, so the Hindús call seven rakshasas and give their name to the constellation of the Great Bear. Further the water comes up from the *dama bhavani*, that is, the mansion of Bhavani, the wife of Mahadeo. When the cavity is filled then the water, passing over the borders, runs out, the Sanyasis and other Hindús, who had come from distant places, throw themselves into it, and the people who find no room carry water from it. Afterwards the ebullition declines, in such a manner that there remains not the least trace of the water. In this month the water boils up three times a day, namely, in the morning, at midday, and in the afternoon, at the hour of prayer. After the lapse of this month no more water is seen, until the sun enters again into the sign of the Bull."

Perhaps, however, the effervescence of the fountain in the text may have been caused by acids or acid wine.

P. 45.—Adhad Ad Doulat or Ad Doulah. Ad Doulat is the Arabic form, Ad Doulah the Persian. The Translator has inadvertently confounded them occasionally.

P. 225, line 22nd.—Bektuzún, or Bektuzúm, or Begtuzún, or Yektuzún, or Bekturún. In a work of such antiquity as the Kitábi Yamini it is sometimes difficult to ascertain the precise orthography of proper names, on account of the paucity of MSS. and the difficulty of historical collations. The Translator finally adopted Bektuzún.

P. 302.—"Drawing his eye over his rough standards" (in the text erroneously printed *standard*) *i.e.*, Surveying his standards carried by hardy warriors.

P. 318.—The idea which has become a quality of the Muhammadan character is apathetic patience. Muslims appear

to regard it as a crime to suffer deterioration from hope delayed, or even (as here) to entertain aspirations beyond their present circumstances.

Pp. 431, 437.—Although Utbi promises additional information respecting these personages, yet little or nothing is subsequently recorded by him respecting them. This omission and the abrupt conclusion of his work would imply that he left it incomplete, although he no doubt designed to complete it. In p. 437 he alludes to "*the two brothers*," sons of Mahmúd, although he is narrating the history of but one. Probably a sentence may be wanting in the MS.

Pp. 459, 460.—Jandbál appears to be a different person from Jaipál, but the latter *may be* identical with Haibal or Bahamal.

ERRATA.

P. 5 and elsewhere, for "Nabobs" read "Nawwabs."
P. 21, line 8, for "they" read "he."
P. 47, for "An Naan" read "Al Amir."
P. 144, for "Armir" read "Amir."
P. 203, for "Religious" read "Religion."
P. 207, for "past" read "passed."
P. 256, for "Gascin" read "Garcin."
P. 292, for "Ibrahun" read "Ibrahim."
P. 295, for "Dhul Karanin" read "Dhul Karnain."
P. 302, for "standard" read "standards."
P. 382, for "Anslan" read "Arslan."
P. 478, line 18, dele "amongst."
Vizír occasionally replaced by Vizir or Vizer.
Rai inadvertently printed as Rê, in several pages.


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